THE CULT OF MITHRAS
IN THE
ROMAN PROVINCES OF GAUL

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

M. J. VERMASEREN

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VIVIENNE J. WALTERS

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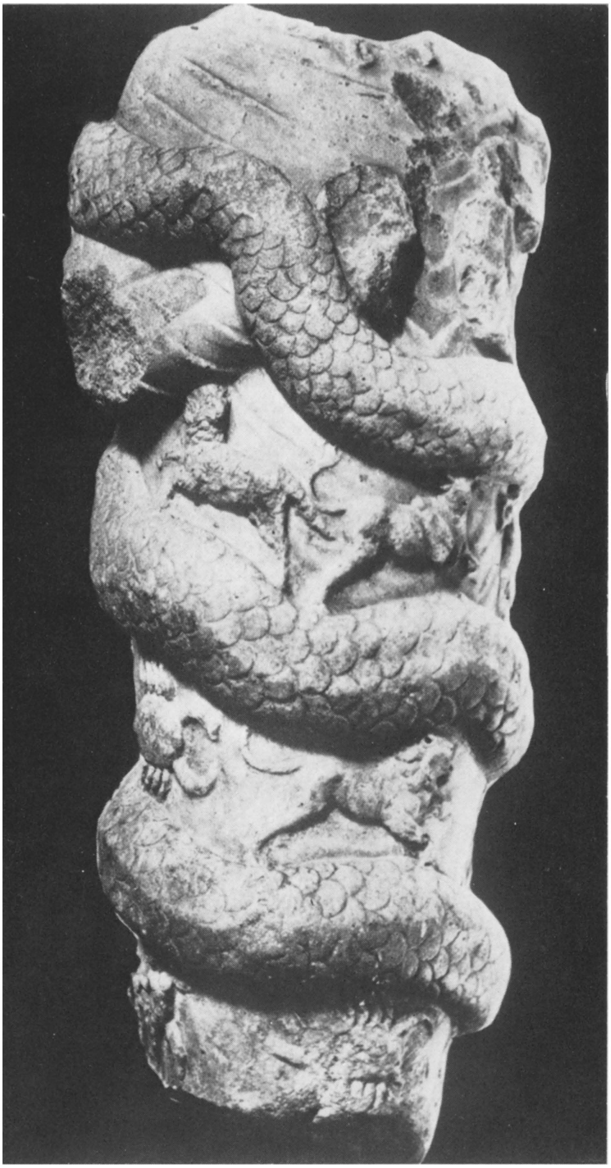

Statue from Arles

VIVIENNE J. WALTERS

THE CULT OF MITHRAS IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES OF GAUL

WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 3 FIGURES, 40 PLATES AND 2 MAPS

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PREFACE

It is a pleasant task to acknowledge the help and encouragement I have received in the preparation of this work, which was presented originally as an M.A. thesis at the University of Manchester. My sincere thanks are due, in particular, to Professor J. R. Harris and to Dr. J.-P. Wild for their unsparing advice and stimulating criticism. I also owe a special debt to Professor M. J. Vermaseren for his generous help and encouragement, and I have had the benefit of much helpful advice from Professor J. Leclant during my visits to France.

Both in correspondence with, and in visits to French provincial museums I have been shown every kindness, and I should like to thank, in particular, the following individuals who have supplied much valuable information : R. Billoret, director of the Antiquités historiques de Lorraine; Dr. Wolfgang Binsfeld; R. Delagneau, curator of the Musée archéologique, Boulogne-sur-Mer; B. Devauges of the Direction des antiquités historiques de Bourgogne; André Dumoulin, curator of the museums of Cavaillon and Digne; Mlle. Christiane Dunant, curator of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève; Dr. Frances Follin-Jones, curator of classical art at the Art Museum, Princeton University; Mlle. F. Grand of the Musée de la Société des sciences de Semur, Alise-Sainte-Reine; Prof. Dr. Louis Harmand, Douen de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Rouen; René Horiot; L. Lerat, director of the antiquités historiques de Franche-Comté; Mlle. Catherine Metzger, curator of the Musée des antiquités nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye; Dr. E. Planson; H. Polge, departmental archivist of Gers; J.-M. Rouquette, curator of the Musée lapidaire d'art païen, Arles; Joannès Ruf, curator of the Musée lapidaire, Vienne; Yves Solier; L. Valensi, curator of the Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux; H. Vertet, director of excavations at Lezoux.

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INTRODUCTION

At a time when the archaeology of Gaul is benefiting from increasingly conscientious scientific research, it may be fruitful to provide a critical re-assessment of the evidence relating to the spread of Mithraism in Gaul.

The ancient literary sources are almost completely silent on this subject and only an uncertain reference from the Life of St. Andéol in the *Acta Sanctorum* may refer to a Mithraic sanctuary. The evidence must, therefore, depend almost entirely on archaeological material and this in the past has been confined largely to the antiquarian collections of epigraphical and sculptural fragments which, although occasioned by well intentioned enthusiasm for *vieilles pierres*, are all too often sadly lacking in precision and accuracy. None the less, these are often the only source of information for monuments which have since been lost or have disappeared into inaccessible private collections.

Amongst the most useful of these early collections is the record produced by Bernard de Montfaucon. In the fifteen folio volumes of his work, *l'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, begun in 1719, he devotes particular attention to the writings, sculpture and inscriptions of Gaul. Another useful collection was compiled between 1752-67 by the Comte de Caylus, entitled *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, etrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises*, and in the first decade of the nineteenth century Aubin-Louis Millin published the four volumes of his *Voyage dans les départements du Midi*, a valuable source, particularly for the monuments in the Rhône valley.

The systematic excavations of the Roman *limes* in Germany at the end of the 19th century were not paralleled by similar work in France, but the pre-war period did see the appearance of a large compendium of material, compiled by Espérandieu under the title of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine.* This series of volumes appeared over a period of some thirty years and supplements are still being issued.

The first of these volumes post-dated, by a decade, Franz Cumont's pioneering study of the *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, a work which for over half a century has provided the basis for Mithraic studies, and which only in recent years has been re-appraised and supplemented by Vermaseren's now vital *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, an essential source for all present-day studies of Mithraic material.

In discussion of the inscriptional evidence, additional recourse has been made to the relevant volumes of the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions (*CIL*, XII and XIII) and to a number of regional collections of which the most important are the volumes of inscriptions from Lyon, *Musée de Lyon, inscriptions antiques*, compiled by Allmer and Dissard, and Espérandieu's *Inscriptions latines de la Gaule : Narbonnaise.*

My commentary on Mithraic statuary owes much to Will's wide ranging study of the material in *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain* and L. A. Campbell's recent work, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology.* In addition, a number of general works have provided helpful information; in particular, reference has been made to Grenier's *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, a valuable compendium of the results of archaeological excavation in France, and to the archaeological journal *Gallia*, the standard of which has risen steadily in the past few years under the skilful editorship of Professor P.-M. Duval.

The preparation of this work has entailed a systematic search through the published sources and the visiting of a number of French provincial museums but, in the doing, the limitations of the available evidence have become increasingly apparent. A number of the monuments cited in the 18th and 19th century collections are now lost, or have passed into the hands of private collectors. Moreover, the museums themselves all too often lack precise information concerning the circumstances of a find, and, in some cases, still suffer from the disorganisation caused during the two World Wars, when a large number of monuments were destroyed or stolen.

Much, however, has been done in recent years to improve facilities for research, and a number of museums, in particular that of St. Germain-en-Laye, have undergone systematic reorganisation. Improved excavation techniques are being employed on sites, such as Les Bolards, which were imperfectly excavated some twenty years ago, and these projects will, it is hoped, bear fruit within the next few years. Janus-like, this work stands at the threshold between the old and the new.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.*
Arch. Ael.	*Archaeologia Aeliana.*
AASS	*Acta Sanctorum.*
AEMO	*Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich.*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
A. Allmer, *Inscriptions de Vienne*	A. Allmer, *Inscriptions antiques et du moyen âge de Vienne en Dauphiné*, (6 vols) Vienne, 1875-6.
Ant. Journ.	*The Antiquaries Journal.*
Arch. Camb.	*Archaeologia Cambrensis.*
Arch. Cant.	*Archaeologia Cantiana.*
BATH	*Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques.*
BCR	*Bullettino della Commissione archeologica del Governatorato di Roma.*
BJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher.*
BRGK	*Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission.*
BSABM	*Bulletin de la société académique de Boulogne-sur-Mer.*
BSAF	*Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France.*
BSEtHA	*Bulletin de la société d'études des Hautes Alpes.*
BSSLBA	*Bulletin de la société scientifique et littéraire des Basses-Alpes.*
R. Cagnat	R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, Paris, 4th edition, 1914.
Le Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*	Le Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises*, (7 vols), Paris 1752-67.
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, The Hague 1956-60.
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.*
De Bello Gallico	Caesar (Gaius Julius) *De Bello Gallico*, Commentarii rerum gestarum, ed. O. Seel, Vol. 1, Bellum Gallicum, Leipzig 1961.
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica.*
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*	E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine (et supplément)* 1-15 (in 13 vols) Paris 1907-66.

Esp., *Rec. Germ.*	E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine*, Paris-Bruxelles 1931.
A. Grenier, *Manuel*	A. Grenier, *Manuel d’archéologie gallo-romaine*, (7 vols) Paris 1931-60.
ICH	*Inscriptions Confoederationis Helveticae Latinae* (Ed. Th. Mommsen), Zürich 1854.
IGR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*
Jahrb. GNF	*Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschungen.*
Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. Alt.	*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.*
JRS	*The Journal of Roman Studies.*
J. Ladoucette, *Le Troubadour*	J. Ladoucette, *Le Troubadour ou Guillaume et Margerite, histoire provinciale, suivie de notices sur la ville de Mons Seleucus et sur le souterrain de Mont-Vico*, Paris 1824.
F. Lajard, *Introduction*	F. Lajard, *Introduction à l’étude du culte public des mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, Paris 1847.
F. Lajard, *Mém. Vienne*	‘Mémoire sur un bas relief mithriaque qui a été découvert à Vienne (Isère)’, *Annali dell’ Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, XIII, 1841.
F. Lajard, *Recherches*	*Recherches sur le culte public et les mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, Paris 1867.
MCACd’O	*Mémoires de la commission des antiquités du département de la Côte d’Or.*
A.-L. Millin, *Voyage Midi*	A.-L. Millin, *Voyage dans les départements du Midi*, Paris 1807-11.
MMM	F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, (2 vols) Bruxelles 1896-1899.
Mon. Ined.	*Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall’ Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica.*
PA	*Pro Alesia.*
Pauly-Wissowa	*Pauly’s Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
Porphyry	Porphyry, ‘The Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey’, *Arethusa Monographs*, 1, Buffalo-New York 1969.
RA	*Revue archéologique.*
RAEst	*Revue archéologique de l’est et du centre-est.*
RE	*Revue épigraphique du Midi de la France.*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes.*
S. Reinach, *Rép. Reliefs*	S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs Grecs et romains*, Paris 1909-12.
S. Reinach, *Rép. Statuaire*	*Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris 1896-1924.
RSSD	*Revue des sociétés savantes des départements.*

W. Schulze, *Eigennamen*	W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1933.
TH	*Trierer Heimatbuch.*
TZ	*Trierer Zeitschrift.*
M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*	M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden 1965.
WsdZ	*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst.*
WsdZ (Korr.)	*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst (Korrespondenzblatt).*

PART ONE

COMMENTARY ON THE MATERIAL

CHAPTER ONE

THE SITES OF MITHRAIC SANCTUARIES

A full discussion of the Mithraea of Roman Gaul is rendered impossible by the all too frequent inadequacy of the modern literary accounts and the lack of site plans. In some cases the possible existence of structural remains has been dismissed with only very brief comment, as in Lajard's statement that the Mithraic relief from Vienne was found in the remains of a small underground building *qui peut avoir été un Mithraeum*; in the absence of more precise evidence, such indications of structural remains must be treated with great caution. This discussion will, therefore, be limited to those sites which have received greater attention in modern literary accounts and for which an excavation report exists. A map of the distribution of these sites is given in Map 1.

1. The Heidenkapelle or Heidenkirche, near Saarbrücken

Site : this "cave" is hewn out of the hillside on the west slope of the Halberg near Saarbrücken. Not far distant, 500 m to the west of the Halberg castle on the north bank of the Saar, have been discovered the remains of a late Roman fortlet with traces of a road leading from it.[1] This was evidently one of the small garrison posts, situated in a strategic position above the river.

The Heidenkapelle was investigated by Klein in 1920-2, and the subsequent reports indicate that the sandstone slope is artificially worked over a 43 m strip, extending north and south (several niches and deep holes have been discovered), and 15 m from the north end of the worked area lies a cave, width 6.5 m depth 9 m.[2] Inside the cave, coins from Diocletian to Gratian and numerous fragments of pottery have been found — regrettably, none of them stratified; they include several *terra sigillata* fragments, a later piece with white paint *en barbotine* and a motto, and a black, colour-coated pot, also with white paint. There appears to have been a central nave, length 6 m, width 3.25 m, with raised benches on either side, height 40 cm, width 1.50 m, and a bench running along the back wall, but the cave has evidently been used and its interior considerably altered since Roman times, and, in the absence of any certain dating evidence, there is no definite indication that these internal arrangements are of Roman date.

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[1] *Germania,* IX, 1925, p. 58 ff. The site has produced coins of Constantine I and Julian.

[2] Krüger, *TZ,* I, 1926, p. 92 ff., figs. 1-4; *CIMRM,* I, 1001.

In support of his theory that this was a Mithraeum, Krüger points to the report by Hofgärtner Köllner that, in 1722, there were found a number of columns, height 2.30 m, decorated with male figures wearing priestly caps and dressed in long robes, holding a staff in the left hand, and with the right to the mouth. Inscribed beneath the figures were hieroglyphs. It is far from certain, however, that these were representations of Mithraic torchbearers, and they seem more likely to have been figures of Harpocrates.

No other Mithraic statuettes or inscriptions have been found in the cave, and its interpretation as a Mithraeum cannot, therefore, be asserted with any degree of probability.

2. Bourg St. Andéol, a small town lying to the north-east of Pont St. Esprit, on the left bank of the Rhône.

The site is a rock face which rises above the plateau between the two streams La Tourne and the Grand Goul, about 200 m to the west of Bourg St. Andéol.[1] A relief depicting the bull-slaying scene (No. 13) is hewn from the rock about 3.60 m above the sloping ground which borders the water of La Tourne. Along the base of the relief, about 2.30 m above ground level, runs a ledge, 30-25 cm wide, which it has been suggested may be the remains of an altar table, but Turcan thinks it too narrow to have served this purpose.[2] Grooves cut into the rock above the relief indicate that, at one time, a roof may have sheltered the cult representation. These brief indications are the only evidence we have that the relief formed the back wall of a Mithraeum of which no other structural remains now exist, but there is an interesting parallel in the finds made at Schwarzerden. Here, the Mithraic cult relief is sculptured on a rocky outcrop about 4 m above a meadow, bordered by a stream. Holes, cut into the rock, may well have served to support a gabled roof, and the side walls of the Mithraeum are preserved to a height of 3 m.[1] At Bourg St. Andéol no remains of walls have been found, but it is highly probable that the sanctuary resembled that of Schwarzerden.

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 895-7; *MMM*, II, p. 401, no. 279.

[2] R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, pp. 8-9.

3. **Vieu-en-Val-Romey** (VENETONIMAGUS), a village situated on the central plateau of Val Romey, some 20 km north of the Rhône and about 100 km east of Lyon.

Site : The Roman *vicus* of Venetonimagus has never been the subject of scientific excavation, but, in view of the Celtic ending *-magus*, which Grenier associates with the term *forum*, indicating the function of certain *vici* as commercial centres, this was, most probably, a little market town for which the *villae* found in the neighbourhood provided produce.[2] The only evidence we have of the Roman settlement comes from a number of written accounts of discoveries made in the mid 19th century, and these are sadly lacking in precision. In the absence of site plans and, indeed, of detailed accounts of the structures unearthed, our information must remain very fragmentary.

The excavations of 1840 and 1868-9 [3]

Fig. 1 has been reconstructed from the available (often imprecise) literary evidence.

Excavations of the cemetery which surround the church at Vieu on the east, south and west sides, undertaken by the curé in 1840, revealed a number of large stone blocks, buried 1.70 m beneath the soil, forming a straight line 7-8 m long. These stones seem to have formed the foundation for a wing of a building, the westernmost corner of which was pierced by a water channel constructed of large stones, with an internal diameter of 50 cm. At the same time there were found an inscription to

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[1] *CIMRM*, II, 1280, figs. 335-6.

[2] A. Grenier, *Manuel*, II, Paris 1934, p. 695.

[3] See the following reports : T. Desjardins, *Notice sur les antiquités du village de Vieu-en-Val-Romey (Ain)*, Lyon 1869, pp. 13 ff.; J. Quicherat, *BSAF*, 1870, pp. 92-3; *RSSD*, 1870, pp. 85-7; A. Allmer, *Inscriptions de Vienne*, III, pp. 388-9; *MMM*, II, p. 397, no. 275; *CIMRM*, I, 909-914.

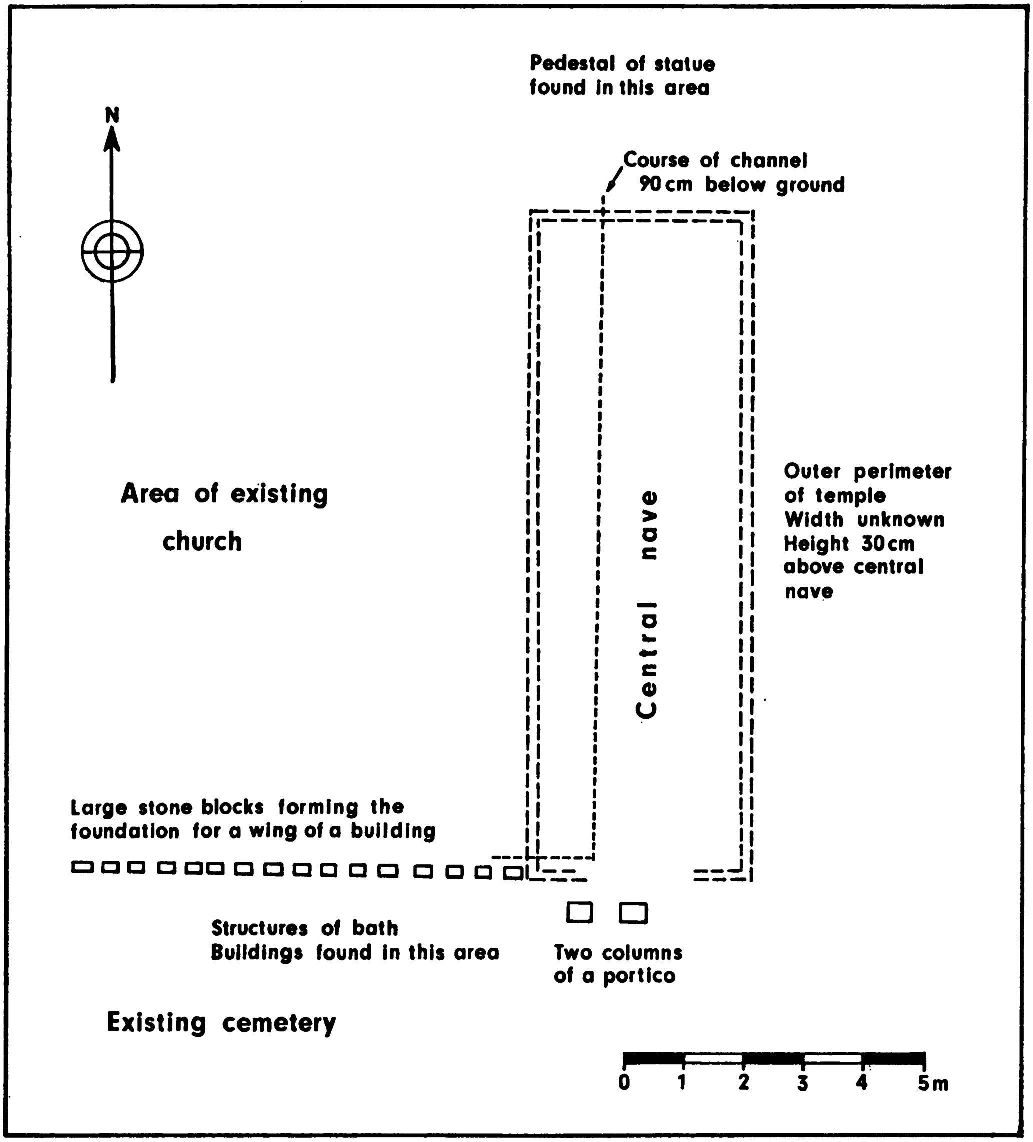
Pedestal of statue
found in this area
N
Course of channel
90 cm below ground
Area of existing
church
Central nave
Outer perimeter
of temple
Width unknown
Height 30 cm
above central
nave
Large stone blocks forming the
foundation for a wing of a building
Structures of bath
Buildings found in this area
Two columns
of a portico
Existing cemetery
0
1
2
3
4
5m

Fig. 1

the Sun God and the funerary monuments to G. Rufius Eutactus and his wife (No. 21).

The excavations of 1869, commencing near the chevet of the church and extending in an easterly direction, brought to light first a rubble layer of tiles and tumbled stones and then a rectangular room, length 10.60 m, width 3.40 m, with side walls of small regularly dressed stones. Outside this room the floor level rose by 30 cm, extending as far as an outside wall. The thickness of this wall is not given, but the large stone blocks, discovered in 1840, may have been part of its foundations. The small, regularly dressed stones most probably come from a parapet wall against which rested the raised side aisles of the building. It is not clear from the literary accounts whether the dimensions 10.60 m × 3.40 m are internal or external measurements, and there is no information at all on the width of the side aisles or the thickness of the outside walls, but from the quantity of stone found and the discovery of large stone blocks, strong enough to support a stone superstructure, it seems most likely that this was a stone building, probably roofed with tiles.

The south façade, it seems, had an entrance door, extending almost the entire width of the central room, with, before it, a rough ashlar foundation on which appear to have been set the columns of a portico (two of which have been found). Inside, there were found two capitals in red stone, *rouge antique*, a quantity of débris of marble facing, and fragments of veneer in green porphyry, with, in addition, a bronze lamp with suspension chains,[1] a small terracotta lamp with the remains of an inscription *Vira* [...] *ieci of*, and various fragments of statues. The bases of two pedestals were discovered *in situ*, 60 cm in front of the back wall of the building.

A channel, cut into the rock, entered the building about one third of the way along the north wall, penetrating 90 cm beneath the floor, and had its outlet on the west side, in an extension of the portico. This channel, 50 cm wide and 1.20 m high, vaulted in tufa, contained a quantity of ash together with both animal and human bones and various pottery fragments (none of which, unfortunately, is described in detail) and coins of Claudius Gothicus with *consecratio* on the reverse.

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[1] A bronze lamp of this kind was found on a low relief from Fellbach, depicting Mithras as bull-slayer, now in the Stuttgart museum : *MMM*, II, 241, fig. 215; *CIMRM*, II, 1306, fig. 347.

Little is known of the relationship between this proposed Mithraeum and other structures brought to light in the vicinity of the church. To the north, several structures were unearthed, none of which could be clearly identified, and the only slender evidence of function comes from the discovery of a thumb of a colossal statue in Parian marble and the large pedestal for a similar, or possibly the same, statue. Likewise to the south, various structures were identified as bath buildings, but it is not known on what evidence this interpretation was based.

Identification of the building as a Mithraeum

Despite the lack of detailed excavation reports, a number of indications suggest that the rectangular building described above was a Mithraeum. An inscription, dedicated to Mithras by G. Rufius Eutactus *pater*, was found inside the building (No. 20) and this, together with the earlier finds of a funerary monument to the same man and an inscription to the Sun God (No. 21), indicate that Mithras was evidently known in Vieu.

The structural remains of the building show a number of parallels with Mithraea discovered elsewhere. It is evident from the excavation reports that the building consisted of a central nave, its measurements given as 10.60 m × 3.40 m, with raised side aisles and a porticoed vestibule. Its size and plan appear similar to those of the Heddernheim I and Grosskrotzenburg Mithraea.[1]

The presence of water for ritual purposes is a common feature of Mithraea, and at Vieu the drain which enters at the north end of the sanctuary (opposite the entrance side) and in which have been found traces of bones and ash, served, most probably, as an outlet for the water used in ritual ceremonies.[2] In the Walbrook Mithraeum a well, used for ritual purposes, lies at the south-west corner of the apse, near the main cult representation.[1] At Caernarvon, a drain terminates about half way down the nave against the west bench and in a comparable position at Housesteads a spring-fed cistern has been found.[2]

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[1] At Grosskrotzenburg only the central nave is preserved, 10.50 m × 2.30 m : *CIMRM*, II, 1148, fig. 301. Heddernheim has a central nave 10.30 m × 2.45 m, total size 11.25 m × 7.20 m : *CIMRM*, II, 1082, fig. 273. See the forthcoming book in the present series : E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler der orientalisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Deutschland.*

[2] This offers interesting analogies with the oblong trench in the narthex of the Mithraeum (phase IIB) at Carrawburgh : I. A. Richmond & J. P. Gillam, 'The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh', *Arch. Ael.*, XXIX, 1951, p. 19; E. & J. R. Harris,

A detailed account of the internal decoration is rendered impossible by the scant and imprecise nature of the literary accounts, but the discovery of fragments of veneer in green porphyry, capitals, pillars in *rouge antique*, and fragments of marble statues gives the impression of rich decoration. Porphyry, when cut and polished, was used frequently for ornamental purposes and was considered, erroneously, as a variety of marble. The use of coloured, polished stone calls to mind the rich Ostia Mithraea with their coloured marble decoration.[3]

No traces either of the torchbearer statuettes or of the great bull-slaying relief have been found in the Mithraeum at Vieu, but this need not prejudice our interpretation of the building. In a number of cases these cult representations seem to have been removed for safe keeping by Mithraic worshippers or completely smashed by desecrators of the sanctuary. It seems reasonable to assume, from the evidence presented, that the building discovered at Vieu was indeed a Mithraeum.

Dating

Dating evidence from coins found in the channel running through the Mithraeum reveals types of Claudius Gothicus with *consecratio* on the reverse. This emperor reigned from A.D. 269-70, but there is some evidence to suppose that these irregular Gallic pieces were struck after his death.[4] The latest evidence is a small bronze of Magnus Maximus (A.D.

The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain, Leiden 1965, p. 19; M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, p. 142.

[1] W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman & Mediaeval London*, London 1968, p. 100.

[2] G. C. Boon, 'A Temple of Mithras at Caernarvon-Segontium', *Arch. Camb.*, CIX, 1960, p. 149; E. & J. R. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 31.

[3] G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia, II : I Mitrei*, Roma 1954, pp. 39, 45, draws attention to the marble decoration in the *Mitreo Aldobrandini* and the *Mitreo presso Porta Romana.*

[4] H. Mattingly & E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V (1), London 1927, pp. 202, 233, no. 256.

383-388). The inscription, dedicated by a Mithraic *pater*, has been dated not later than the third century A.D., and this seems to indicate that the most likely period of occupation lies within the third and fourth centuries.

The siting of the Mithraeum

The discovery of the remains of a colossal statue in marble (thumb and pedestal) to the north of the Mithraeum may indicate that this was the sanctuary area of the Roman *vicus*, a site overlain, at least in part, by the present-day church. If the buildings to the south of the Mithraeum are indeed bath buildings, comparison may be made with the sanctuary of Apollo Moritasgus at Alise-Sainte-Reine. This sanctuary occupies an enclosed area which has yielded remains of a portico and several bath buildings.[1] The sanctuary is devoted to divinities of healing waters, and a large number of *ex votos* for the curing of eye diseases have been found. The interesting discovery of surgical instruments, in particular needles for use in eye surgery, indicates that the sanctuary priests may also have been doctors, and it is certainly of note that the *pater* of the Mithraic community at Vieu was also a *medicus*.[2] The sanctuary at Vieu may well have been dedicated to the worship not only of Mithras but also of Apollo, the healing god. The remains of a colossal statue are too fragmentary to permit accurate interpretation but could be of the same type as the colossal Apollo at Entrains.[3] Moreover, inside the Mithraeum has been found a head of Apollo. It is not surprising to find a sanctuary of healing waters at Vieu, situated close by a spring used in Roman times and still in use at the time Desjardins wrote.[1]

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[1] J. Toutain, *La Gaule antique vue dans Alesia*, La Charité-sur-Loire 1932, pp. 193-4.

[2] J. le Gall, *Alesia, archéologie et histoire*, Paris 1963, p. 148. Here comparison may be drawn with the excavations at Lydney Park in Gloucestershire, reported by R. E. M. Wheeler : "That the art of healing was in fact practised upon the site is further suggested by the discovery of an oculist's stamp close to the temple ... It may be also that the very large number of pins, both of bronze and of bone, found on the site — upwards of 320 of them — should be ascribed in part to devotion to a healing god." : R. E. M. Wheeler, *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, Oxford 1932, p. 41.

[3] Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 247, no. 2243 & fig.

4. Les Bolards (Nuits St. Georges)

Site : The Roman remains at Les Bolards are located about 1½ km to the south-east of Nuits St. Georges, on the left bank of the Meuzin, situated in the territory of the Aedui, about 5-6 km to the south of the frontier with the Lingones and 3 km to the west of the most frequented road in Roman Gaul, that which linked Lyon with Trier and Cologne; the Roman settlement lies, therefore, at an important point of communication. The ancient ruins, which stretch over an area of about 12 hectares (30 acres), appear to be those of a commercial and industrial *vicus* of some importance. In 1948 Thévenot produced a report on all the known material from the site, but, although this contains a useful catalogue of recorded finds, it gives only scant information on the structural remains which had been unearthed. It is with a view to obtaining more detailed information on the remains that Dr. E. Planson has recently begun a systematic investigation of the site, but only interim reports have so far been published.

The report of 1948 [2]

This report indicates that a short distance to the north of the presumed remains of a *forum*, at a depth of 1.30 m-1.40 m beneath the surface, a flight of three steps, length 2 m, descending in a westerly direction, were discovered. At the foot of these steps was a room of which neither the internal nor external measurements are known. Nor, indeed, is there any indication of the building material employed. The only information we possess concerns the statues and fragments of relief found in the room. The statues of a lion and of two torchbearers were found by the entrance, at the foot of the three steps (Nos. 22-24), and, inside the room, were discovered a number of fragments of sculpture, including the foot and hoof of a bull, the mouth and jaw of a dog, and two heads wearing

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[1] T. Desjardins, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-7.

[2] E. Thévenot, 'La station antique des Bolards à Nuits St. Georges', *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 306, fig. 2, no. 4 : Sanctuaire C; *CIMRM*, I, 917-928. See also p. 163.

Phrygian caps which may have come from a cult relief (No. 25). Other finds include various votive offerings, a hand, length 25 cm, holding an offering (*patera*), and parts of human legs, length 10 cm and 18 cm, scored with lines.[1] Amongst the fragments of interior decoration is a small marble colonnette, now in the archaeological museum at Dijon, Inventory no. 953.13. Height 45 cm, diameter 7 cm, it narrows upwards, ending in a *torus*; at each end is a hole which probably served to fix the colonnette to its supports. Of delicate workmanship, it is intricately carved with a spiral-like twig pattern of oak leaves and acorns.[2] Also found were three small spherical objects in stone and a number of iron instruments, the point of a spear, length 30 cm, a pair of iron tongs, length 30 cm, and a three-pronged instrument resembling a long thin fork.[3] The iron instruments are now in the archaeological museum at Dijon, Inventory nos. 953.30 and 953.31.

Several fragments of local stone record the remains of two inscriptions, said by Thévenot to be of fourth century date: [4]

a) ...]n Mythr[...]vp bell...

This fragment is now in the archaeological museum at Dijon, Inventory no. 953.8.

b) ...] s. a. b[...ḷ]lina coll[...] v.s.l.[m]

Of these, only the former can be described with any degree of certainty as a dedication to Mithras. The latter is too fragmentary to permit adequate interpretation.

Identification of the building as a Mithraeum

In view of the brevity of the report on the structure of the building, its interpretation as a Mithraeum must depend, at the present time, on the evidence of the statues of a lion and two torchbearers, found *in situ*.

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[1] *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 318, nos. 45 & 44; Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 96, no. 9068; p. 97, no. 9072, pl. LXXVI; *CIMRM*, I, 924.

[2] *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 318, no. 46; p. 303, fig. 10; Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 97, no. 9073, pl. LXXVI; *CIMRM*, I, 924.

[3] *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 318, no. 47, fig. 13; p. 322, nos. 74-6; *CIMRM*, I, 925.

[4] *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, App. B 15 b & c, figs. 12 & 14; *CIMRM*, I, 926; 927.

Renewed work on the site, under the direction of Dr. Planson, will, it is hoped, produce more detailed information on the structural remains, and he has already been kind enough to furnish me with the following preliminary report : *Il s'agit probablement d'un grand sanctuaire mithriaque avec quelques salles annexes. Le dégagement est actuellement en procès.* The recently completed excavations of July and August 1971 have revealed : *À l'ouest, deux salles annexes limitées et, au sud, un mur important dessinant une courbe vers le sud-ouest et se prolongeant à l'est.*

It was quite normal, in Mithraea found elsewhere, for an attempt to be made to preserve the cave-like quality of the sanctuary, and it certainly appears from the fragmentary description that this building was, at least partially, underground; the steps, discovered at a depth of 1.30 cm-1.40 cm, led down into the cult room. Moreover, the position of the two torchbearer statues at the entrance to the cult room is characteristic of a number of other Mithraea.[1] In the Mithraeum at Oberflorstadt the cult room proper was entered by means of four steps, at the foot of which stood the statuettes of the torchbearers,[2] and at Heddernheim in both Mithraea I and II the torchbearer statuettes evidently stood on either side of the central aisle.[3] In Mithraeum I at Carnuntum the fragmentary remains of the torchbearer figures were discovered at the entrance to the side benches, and the statue of a lion, holding between its forepaws the head of a bull, was found in a position very similar to that of the lion from Les Bolards.[4]

Despite the lack of detailed evidence concerning the internal decoration of the cult room, it is clear from the fine quality of the marble colonnette and the well sculptured figures of the torchbearers and lion that considerable care and expense had been lavished on the building. If the preliminary reports of Dr. E. Planson are correct, it may well be a more complex sanctuary than previously supposed, with several rooms annexed.[5]

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[1] Cf. M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, p. 133, pls. XI, 1, XXIII, 1-2. At S. Prisca two large niches for the statues of Cautes and Cautopates were set at the ends of the two side benches, immediately within the entrance.

[2] *CIMRM*, II, 1074, fig. 271.

[3] *CIMRM*, II, 1082, fig. 273; 1108, fig. 284.

[4] *CIMRM*, II, 1682, fig. 429.

[5] Cf. the late Mithraeum at Dura Europos with two chambers annexed, joined to the cult room by a narrow passageway cut through the benches. *CIMRM*, I, 34, fig. 11.

Here, as at Vieu-en-Val-Romey, the great bull-slaying relief has not been found. Only a few minute fragments may come from this relief, and it could be that the main cult representation was deliberately destroyed by those who put an end to the temple's existence, their object being to destroy the relief which was most offensive to them. This may indicate that the Christians were responsible for the desecration of the building.

Dating

Coins, found in the cult room, form a series from Commodus to the end of the fourth century, but the majority are of emperors at the end of the third century and the fourth century, particularly Diocletian and Constantine. The latest coin is that of Arcadius who reigned A.D. 395-408. The main period of occupation seems, therefore, to have fallen within the third and fourth centuries.

The siting of the Mithraeum

Excavations have revealed, to the north of the Mithraeum, a hypocaust and also a number of *ex votos*, consisting of eyes cut into bronze plaques, which call to mind the *ex votos* discovered at Vieu-en-Val-Romey. It is possible that the sanctuary at Les Bolards, situated only about 2 km from the thermal spring of La Courtavaux, may have been devoted in part to the cult of healing waters.[1] *Ex votos* for the healing of leg ailments have been found inside the Mithraeum and, to the southwest of the sanctuary, more *ex votos* of eyes have been discovered. Both here, and at Vieu-en-Val-Romey, the cult of Mithras and that of healing waters seem to have existed side by side, and, according to Thévenot, there may indeed have been more than one Mithraic sanctuary.

A second Mithraeum at Les Bolards [2]

Thévenot has suggested that a temple, lying 30-40 m to the southwest of the first sanctuary, may be a second Mithraeum. Inside it were found a marble bust of Venus, a head of Minerva, and several fragments of female heads. None of these finds may necessarily be connected with Mithraic worship, and Thévenot has based his case on two rather doubtful pieces of evidence.

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[1] *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, pp. 302-4.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 929-932.

The first is a fragment of an inscription, ...] *gister.*[1] Thévenot, interpreting the word as *magister*, has commented that this title is known to have been adopted by the head of a Mithraic community in Rome.[2] The title is, however, by no means unique to the Mithraic community; a number of religious colleges at Rome (in particular that of the Arval brothers) had, at their head, a *magister* who was responsible for the direction of the religious ceremonies. Moreover, the title appears on inscriptions elsewhere in connection with a number of gods and goddesses.[3] There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that the Les Bolards inscription is necessarily Mithraic.

The second piece of evidence to which Thévenot has drawn attention is a so-called "solar symbol", a red and white granite disc, width 70 cm, which comprises a small central circle surrounded by radiating lines.[4] Thévenot has compared this with a motif on the column at Cussy.[5] This disc motif was certainly regarded as a solar symbol, particularly in the East, but was usually replaced in the West by the bust of Sol or the full figure of Sol, driving his chariot.[6] Even if this disc is a solar symbol, we cannot be certain that Mithras was the Sun God worshipped; he was only one amongst a number of such divinities. Of the other finds made at the same time, the head of Minerva [7] would not be out of place in a Mithraic context; a similar head was found in the Walbrook Mithraeum,[8] but, further work is required on the site before any confident assertion may be made regarding the context of these finds. Another possibly

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[1] *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, App. B 16 d; *CIMRM*, I, 932.

[2] *CIL*, VI, 2151 = *CIMRM*, I, 521; *CIL*, VI, 47 = *CIMRM*, I, 369.

[3] The title *magister* is connected with Bona Dea, Bellona, Venus, Hercules, and Juno : *CIL*, V, 762; IX, 1456; 3518; 3857; X, 4620.

[4] *CIMRM*, I, 930.

[5] *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 320, App. A 48, fig. 16; *MCACd'O*, XXI, p. 206.

[6] E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, p. 278.

[7] *CIMRM*, I, 931.

[8] J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London 1962, pp. 134-5, no. 24, pl. XXVIII; E. & J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, pp. 9 ff.; *CIMRM*, I, 820.

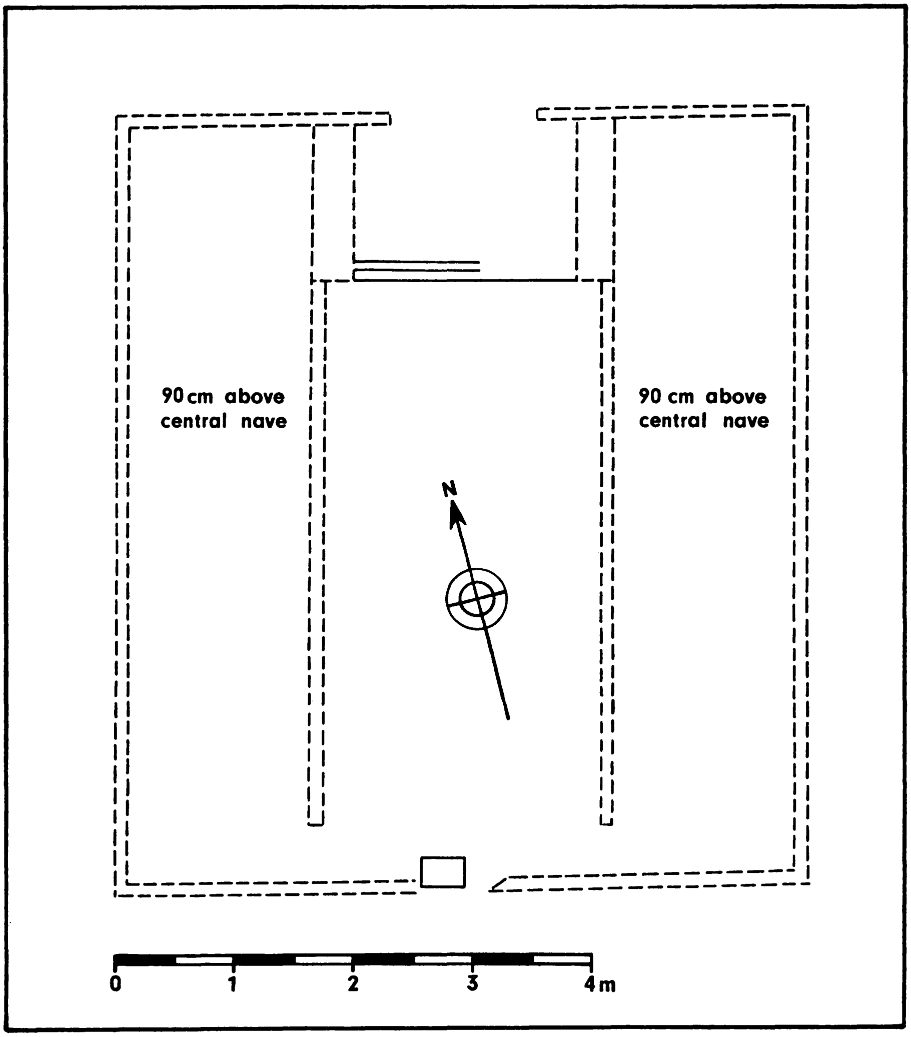
90cm above central nave
90 cm above central nave
N
0
1
2
3
4m

Fig. 2

Mithraic fragment was discovered in the cemetery to the south-east of the site; all that survives is a hand holding part of a torch,? part of a torchbearer.[1] It is, however, clear from the discovery of one certain Mithraeum that Mithraism was well established in this sanctuary area.

5. **Sarrebourg** (PONS SARAVI)

Site : The Roman town, situated on the military way between Strasbourg and Metz, at the bridging point of the Sarre, commanded a position of considerable importance for communications between Strasbourg and the Moselle and Seine basins. Here, in 1895, Von Fisenne discovered an important series of Roman remains.[2]

The excavations of 1895 (see fig. 2).

The report indicates that during the construction of foundations for the new cavalry barracks on the north slope of the Grand-Rebberg, about 50 m above the south bank of the Sarre, the remains of a small building were discovered. Box adds the information that this site is located in the old Jardin Leclerc, near the ancient fortifications and close by the Porte Lupin from which ran the old road to Hesse. The Rue Lupin was the principal axis of the Roman town.[3]

At a depth of 30 cm, the remains of a small building were found. Of slightly irregular shape, with corners at an angle of 93° and 87°, it measures 6.20 m × 5.48 m. An entrance façade faces the valley to the north-east, and the back wall is built into the side of the hill. It is not clear whether the measurements given for the whole building are external or internal, and the widths of the nave and side aisles do not correspond in the various accounts. The evidence is not, therefore, precise enough to enable a confident reconstruction of the wall thickness, but, given the information of Keune that the walls, of local limestone, were of poor quality and not very strong, it may be that the building was part timbered.

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 933.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 965-984.

[3] F. von Fisenne, 'Das Mithräum zu Saarburg in Lothringen', *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. Alt.*, VIII, 1896, pp. 136 ff. M. N. Box, 'Mithra et autres trouvailles archéologiques de Sarrebourg', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Metz*, 1895-7, 3rd series 25-6, p. 169.

Von Fisenne is of the opinion that the two acute angled blocks of stone, found near the entrance, were detached from a pediment, indicating that the building was set under a gabled roof. The pieces indicate an inclination of 1 : 2.17 which, bearing in mind the width of the building and the fact that the gable ridge must have cleared the top of the cult relief (height 4.16 m), gives a minimum height of 2.9 m for the side walls.

The entrance façade may well have had, before it, a *narthex*; the remains of a Roman road, unearthed on the south-east and south-west sides, disappear at the north-east entrance side and in their place are a number of flat paving stones. Water from the spring which rose some 14 m away seems to have been brought to this point through a conduit.

The entrance doorway, width 1.25 m, of which part of the threshold and an upright have been found, leads into a vestibule, length 1.40 m, depth 90 cm, with beaten clay floor, and thence via three steps into a deeper lying central nave which, at its lowest point, seems to have been about 2 m beneath ground level (the floor slopes down for about two thirds of its length to a depth of 78 cm beneath the level of the vestibule and then rises towards the back wall).

This nave is flanked by two side aisles, width 1.35 m and 1.38 m (Keune gives 1.50 m), standing at a level of 90 cm above the central nave, the clay floor being raised on a filling of limestone fragments and clay. Against the aisles rest two parapet walls of limestone, covered with a 14 cm thick sandstone surfacing. Length 4.80 m, they extend as far as the raised dais on which stood the main cult relief (No. 35) flanked by representations of the two torchbearers (Nos. 36-37).

The exact location of other fragments of statuettes found in the building (No. 38) is unfortunately unknown and an altar pedestal with the insciption *Decma/ni uxor / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, which Keune catalogues amongst the finds, was, according to Lehner, found 30 m from the building and need not, therefore, have been associated with it.[1]

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[1] Keune, *WsdZ (Korr.)*, 1896, pp. 51-2; Lehner *AA*, 1897, p. 9. The *cognomen*, Decumanus, found almost exclusively in *CIL* XII & XIII, is listed by Kajanto amongst his geographical *cognomina*. The inhabitants of Colonia Narbonensis were named Decumani after the soldiers of the *Legio decuma* : I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, pp. 74, 202. It is therefore reasonable to assume that this man was of local origin but his association with the cult of Mithras is doubtful.

Other finds include a trachyte bowl, height 11 cm, diameter 18 cm, blackened by fire,[1] and a stone vase, height 45 cm, with narrow base and broad belly, its rim, diameter 18 cm, carrying two ears. This latter was found near the Cautopates figure.[2]

Of the pottery fragments found in the building, none is stratified, and the absence of illustrations in the reports makes their precise dating difficult.

1. A *mortarium* in self-coloured, brick-red ware, height 13 cm, diameter of the rim 28 cm and of the foot-ring 10.5 cm. Its wall side has a lip in the form of a lion's head in relief, and the inner surface is roughened by a scatter of quartz trituration grit. It is not clear from the reports whether or not this is *terra sigillata*, but the form, Dragendorff 45, is an Antonine form in samian and a copy would be of approximately the same date.[3]

2. A decorated pot of dark grey clay with linear ornament, height 12 cm, maximum width 11 cm, with mouth 6 cm wide. It stood upright in the north-east corner of the *cella*, full of ash; besides ash there were a bent thin ring and a few bird bones which may be the remains of ritual sacrifice.[4] Other bird bones and jaws and teeth of vermin were found scattered inside the building,[5] but these show only, according to Von Fisenne, that the hollow spaces between the stone débris were used as storage space by later rats.

3. The fragment of a self-coloured bowl of deep red *terra sigillata*, diameter 21 cm, its outer surface decorated with figure-types depicting

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[1] *MMM*, II, 273ter (t); *CIMRM*, I, 978.

[2] Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896, p. 338, no. iv; *MMM*, II, 273 ter(s), fig. 476; *CIMRM*, I, 979 (1).

[3] Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896, p. 339, no. vi (2); F. Oswald & T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, London 1920, p. 216, pl. LXXIV; *CIMRM*, I, 979 (2). It must be noted, however, that samian 45 lasted beyond the Antonine period.

[4] Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896. p. 339, no. vi (1); *MMM*, II, 273ter(v); *CIMRM*, I, 979. Bird bones were also found in the Dura-Europos Mithraeum : *CIMRM*, I, 36, and in the Mitreo della planta pedis at Ostia : *CIMRM*, I, 272. At S. Prisca, the animal bones found at the base of the *thronus* were probably part of the rubbish and not a votive offering : M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, pp. 127-8.

[5] *CIMRM*, I, 980.

part of a hunting scene. To the right, a lion bounds towards two men who recoil in fear; underneath is a hare in flight. The form is Dragendorff 37, but Cumont's illustration is too indistinct for it to be possible to date this piece closer than the second century A.D.[1]

4. A small, self-coloured clay lamp with a single spout, height 3.8 cm, diameter 7 cm, length 12.5 cm. Its underside has the remains of a stamp with the letters *Soli.* Keune suggests that this should be restored as *Soli* [*I(nvicto) M(ithrae)*] but it seems much more likely to be the remains of the maker's name *Soli*[*nus fecit*]. The upper surface is decorated with a relief which Keune interprets as a "bull's head" and Cumont as an "unbearded head". In the absence of an illustration, it is impossible to choose between these interpretations; the head could be one of the masks depicted on Loeschcke's Type IX from Vindonissa, but the description of the lamp is not precise enough to permit adequate dating.[2]

Identification of the building as a Mithraeum

It is clear, not only from the structure of the building, which closely resembles that of other Mithraea, but also from the discovery of the relief portraying the bull-slaying scene and the figures of the two torchbearers, that this was a sanctuary devoted to the worship of Mithras.

Its position, on a hillside above the river Sarre, with its back wall dug into the hillside and the central nave lying about 2 m below ground level, reflects the traditional requirements of a Mithraic sanctuary. According to Porphyry, the Mithraeum should be situated near running water, Tertullian speaks of worship in "a camp of darkness", and Firmicus Maternus writes that "they celebrate his mysteries in hidden caves".[3]

The dimensions of the sanctuary, 6.20 m × 5.48 m, indicate that it was particularly small, and comparable in size with Carrawburgh I, Poetovio I, and the early Dura Europos Mithraea.[4] Its sides do not form a regular rectangle, and the rough quality of the architecture invites comparison with the frontier Mithraea in Britain. Both the floor and the benches are of beaten clay, and there is no trace of the elaborate and costly decoration found in Mithraea elsewhere. It may be noted, however, that even at Rome, in a not poor Mithraeum like that of S. Prisca, the benches were of beaten earth in the main sanctuary, and both floor and benches also of beaten earth in the three adjacent chapels.[1]

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[1] Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896, p. 339, no. vi (3); *MMM*, II, 273ter(u), fig. 477; *CIMRM*, I, 979.

[2] Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896, p. 339 no. vi (4); *MMM*, II, 273ter(u); *CIMRM*, I, 981; S. Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, Zurich 1919, p. 438, no. 895, pl. XVIII.

[3] Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum* (Arethusa Monographs, I, Buffalo-New York 1969), 5-6; Tertullian, *De Corona* (ed. J. Fontaine, Paris 1966), XV, 3; J. Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* (ed. G. Heuten, Bruxelles 1938), V, 2.

[4] *CIMRM*, I, 844, fig. 223; II, 1487, fig. 378; I, 34, fig. 8. Carrawburgh I is perhaps

Dating

Of the 274 coins found inside the Mithraeum,[2] one is of first century date (Caligula?), three are of the second century (Antoninus Pius A.D. 154, Commodus and Pertinax) twenty of the third century, and 250 of the fourth century. Of these, 67 are before A.D. 371, and the latest coin is that of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, minted before the death of Theodosius, 17th January 395, and bearing the legend *Salus Rei Publicae*, indicating most probably the victory of Theodosius over Eugenius and Arbogast in A.D. 394.

The pottery, assuming it was in use during the lifetime of the Mithraeum, gives at least a late second century date for the establishment of the sanctuary, and the coin evidence confirms that occupation had begun by the third century. The large number of fourth century coins does not necessarily indicate that occupation was most active at this time; it is well known from Romano-British sites that base coins of the late Empire turn up in particularly large numbers and, as Ravetz has pointed out, the inflation and frequent fiscal innovations of the fourth century resulted in a large increase in the number of coins minted.[3]

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the best parallel to Sarrebourg, not only in size but also in layout, suggesting a similar *narthex*. Sited in swampy ground about 30 yards south of the fort on the east bank of a marshy valley, it was apparently constructed in the early third century. The cult room measures internally 5.42 m × 4.65 m with a *narthex* 1.3 m × 1.3 m : I. A. Richmond & J. P. Gillam, 'The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh', *Arch. Ael.*, XXIX, 1951, pp. 4-9.

[1] M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, pp. 127, 139 ff.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 984.

[3] A. Ravetz, 'The fourth century inflation and Romano-British coin finds', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, IV, 1964, pp. 201-31.

Keune suggests that this sanctuary was destroyed following the edicts of Theodosius, who forbade all pagan worship in Rome and exacted severe penalties from those who practised pagan sacrifice.[1] A number of the statuettes appear to have been attacked with a hammer and are headless, and the main cult relief itself is mutilated, which would appear to suggest that the Mithraeum was violently destroyed. These indications are reinforced by the discovery, at the spot where the cult relief stood, of a skeleton with hands bound, which seems to have been deliberately placed in this position to desecrate the sanctuary.[2] The possibility cannot, however, be excluded that the sanctuary was destroyed at some earlier date and the building used as a rubbish dump in the late fourth century, a suggestion which would account for the large number of fourth century coins. The Mithraeum stood close by the Porte Lupin, at the entrance to the town, and would, therefore, have been convenient for this purpose.

The siting of the Mithraeum

The fact that Sarrebourg lay on the military way between Metz and Strasbourg, at a strategic point on the river Sarre, may suggest that the cult of Mithras was brought to the area by soldiers; there is certainly a striking similarity between the great cult relief at Sarrebourg with its side panels and attendant scenes and that found in the Königshoffen Mithraeum near Strasbourg, the military base of the area. The proximity of the Mithraeum to a military base may not, however, be taken as proof that the adherents were soldiers. In Germany, despite the large number of military bases, the followers of oriental cults were predominantly of civil status.[3] It is particularly noteworthy that the cult of Mithras appears to have existed side by side with Celtic divinities. Two altars, one depicting the goddess Nantosvelta alone, the other portraying the goddess accompanied by Sucellus, the mallet god, were found only 20 m from the Mithraeum,[1] and the intrusion of a foreign god was evidently accepted, without hostility.

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[1] C. Pharr (translation), *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, Princeton 1952, 16, 10, 10; 16, 10, 12.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 983. In contrast, the skeleton found at Kroisbach near the west wall of the Mithraeum and placed in a coffin is merely evidence of the later use of the ground as a cemetery : *MMM*, II, 223; *CIMRM*, II, 1647.

[3] Cf. the forthcoming study of E. Schwertheim (above, p. 8, n.l).

6. Trier (AUGUSTA TREVERORUM)

Site : Trier, the old religious and political centre of the Treveri, became, in Roman times, an enormously rich and important city. It was both an administrative and commercial centre of major importance. As an entrepôt for the Moselle-Rhine trade to the south via Metz and Lyon, it developed into an important centre of commerce, noted in particular for its thriving pottery industry. Moreover, its situation, near and yet sheltered from the frontier, made it of vital importance in the years following the collapse of the *limes* in A.D. 260. Indeed, in A.D. 295 it was established as the administrative capital of the whole of the Western Empire.

It had two important sanctuary areas, both of pre-Roman origin; that of Lenus Mars [2] was situated on the left bank of the Moselle, and the other lay on the right bank of the river in the valley of the Altbach, some 150 m to the south of the great bath buildings, the *Kaiserthermen*, the construction of which is attributed to Constantine. Excavation of the Altbachtal sanctuary area, begun in 1924, has revealed over thirty temples. This area, which lay originally on the periphery of the Roman town, appears to have been encompassed within the great stone wall of the Imperial city. The wall is certainly not earlier than the mid second century, for on the north side, by the Porta Nigra, it cuts through a cemetery, still being used at that time. The only firm *terminus ante quem* is the shutting of Trier's gates to Decentius, brother of Magnentius, in A.D. 353.

An interim report on the excavations was published by Loeschcke in 1928,[3] but this is now largely superseded by Gose's more recent account.[4] Towards the northern end of the site, an important cult room was discovered in the north-west wing of a large house (see fig. 3). It consisted

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 982.

[2] E. Gose, *Der Tempelbezirk des Lenus Mars in Trier*, Berlin 1955.

[3] S. Loeschcke, *Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier*, Berlin 1928, pp. 7, 16 f., 35 f., & figs.

[4] E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, pp. 110 ff., & figs.

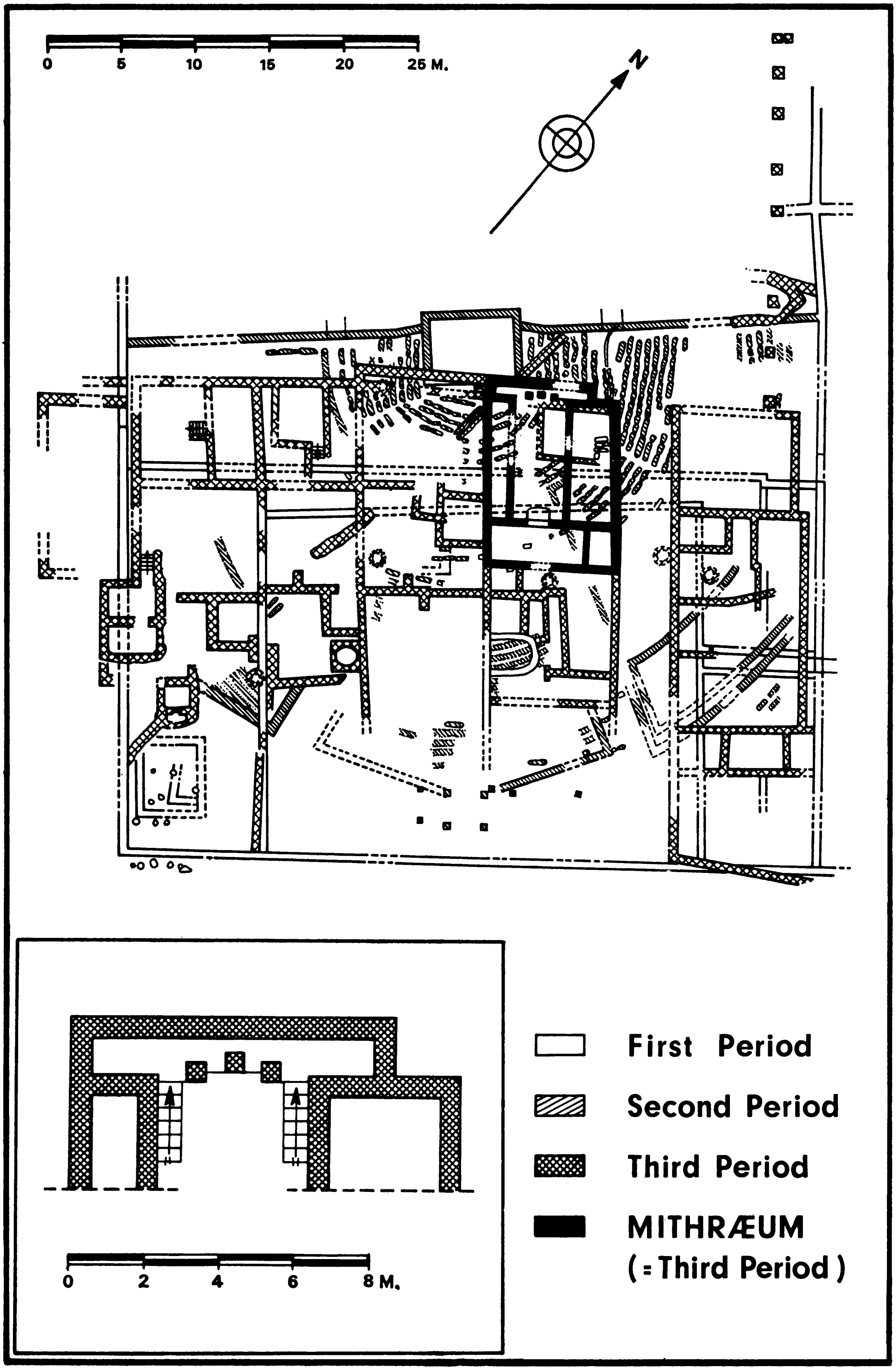
0
5
10
15
20
25 M.
N
First Period
Second Period
Third Period
MITHRÆUM
(= Third Period)
0
2
4
6
8 M.

Fig. 3

of a central nave, length 8.70 m, width 4 m, with two side aisles (benches) raised about 40 cm above its floor level.[1] The width of the southern (left-hand) aisle was 1.20 m, and that of the northern one 3.40 m. At the entrance to the nave was a sacrificial pit, 1.84 m × 0.80 m, built of limestone, with walls 35 cm thick. It contained a layer of ash, 45 cm deep, mixed with bird bones and fourth century coins, the latest dating from the time of Honorius.

In front of the west wall of the cult room was a podium wall (*Altarwand*)[2] about 3 m × 1 m, in which was set a large block of white limestone, height 80 cm, width 54 cm, thickness 54 cm, with, on either side, a smaller limestone block, height 30 cm, width 54 cm, thickness 46 cm, on which stood the two altars found lying in front of them, dedicated by a Mithraic *pater* (Nos. 40-41). On the larger central block stood the representation of the cosmic birth (No. 39). It may be that the great cult relief of the bull-slaying scene completed the group, for the debris in front of the *Altarwand* yielded a number of fragments from a high relief, including the head of a curly-haired youth wearing a Phrygian cap, and the horn of a bull (No. 42A).

Other finds included the lower part of a naked Mercury, leaning against a tree trunk, a head of Mercury, possibly from the same figure, a right leg clothed in trousers, a fragment of a right upper arm,[3] and part of a high relief slab showing two legs, encircled by snakes, and with the feet of a bird, standing upon a rough sphere (No. 42B). Among pottery fragments were part of an earthenware dish, representing a torchbearer with torch raised (App. B 9A), a cylindrical beaker with the inscription DEO REGI INVICTO (App. B 10), and a large two-handled chalice in *terra sigillata*, with a lion's head in relief.

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[1] There is some difficulty about the dimensions of the cult room. Those given above are from Gose, and are evidently internal, the length of the nave excluding the thickness of the *Altarwand.* Loeschcke's figures (length of the nave 17 m, width 8 m) are almost double, and do not in any way correspond with his plan. Both accounts seem to assume that other rooms were associated with the cult, and it is indeed probable that the one immediately adjacent served as an anteroom.

[2] This is clear in the photographs : Gose, *op. cit.*, figs. 218, 221, 223, and can be seen on the detailed plan : *ibid.*, fig. 185. It is not, however, drawn in on the smaller plan : *ibid.*, fig. 189, from which fig. 3 is adapted.

[3] E. Gose, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-3, figs. 242, 245, 247.

It seems that the cult room was underlain, in part, by the remains of a theatre.[1] Sections of the rows of seating were discovered, together with several fragments of a theatrical mask; and beneath the theatre were found a number of post-holes, which Loeschcke believed to be the remains of pre-Roman buildings.[2] It may be, however, that the theatre was originally a wooden one, later rebuilt in stone.

In late Roman times the site was evidently built over for living purposes. One room contained a stove, and in the cult room itself were found the remains of a Frankish wall, built of clumsy limestone blocks, and near it a rectangular pan containing large quantities of white lime.

Identification of the building as a Mithraic cult room

It is clear from the discovery of the fine representation of the cosmic birth and the two altars dedicated to Mithras and Sol by a Mithraic *pater* that this was indeed a Mithraic cult room. It appears to have occupied one or more rooms in a large house,[3] a situation not unparalleled in Mithraea found elsewhere. The *Mitreo della casa di Diana* at Ostia was constructed in two rooms, situated in the north-east corner of an early Antonine house. The early Dura Europos Mithraeum was likewise discovered in a private house,[4] and van Essen has suggested that the rooms in which the S. Prisca Mithraeum was built were part of the Privata Traiani, the private palace of Trajan.[5] If the measurements 8.70 m × 4 m, are just, this cult room was evidently of domestic proportions and smaller than a number of Rhineland Mithraea.

The group comprising the quite exceptional representation of the cosmic birth flanked by two altars is closely paralleled in the Housesteads Mithraeum. Here the richly symbolic relief cf Mithras emerging from the world egg, framed by the signs of the zodiac, also stood between two altars, and nearby were discovered fragments of the main cult relief depicting the bull-slaying scene.[1] It may be that the fragments unearthed from the debris in front of the *Altarwand* of the Altbachtal Mithraeum (No. 42A) come from a bull-slaying relief.

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[1] *TZ*, VI, 1931, pp. 170-1, fig. 1.

[2] *TZ*, VII, 1932, p. 169.

[3] Cf. above, p. 25, n.l. One must suppose that the *pater* either owned or dwelt in the house at the time, since the altars, dedicated by him, were erected *in suo*.

[4] *CIMRM*, I, 34, fig. 11.

[5] M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, pp. 68, 107 ff.

Recent excavations in the area of Cologne cathedral have brought to light a representation of the rock birth, but no trace of the main cult relief. Prof. Otto Doppelfeld suggests that there could have been a temple near the cathedral, or that this representation could have belonged to a shrine in a private house.[2]

Dating

There is no precise indication of a date for the abandonment of the theatre, but the large house, built subsequently on the site, seems to have been in use during the third century, and one of its rooms was evidently used as a Mithraeum. The date of the abandonment of the Mithraeum is also uncertain, but a *terminus ante quem* is provided by the evidence that the sanctuary area was totally destroyed in the reign of Gratian, a road built over the levelled ground, and a few of the temples converted for habitation. It is of particular interest that this pagan sanctuary area evidently continued in use until the second half of the fourth century, for Trier at this time was a centre of Christian teaching and attracted a number of distinguished visitors, including Martin of Tours and Ambrose of Milan. Evidence from the discovery amongst the ash in the sacrificial pit of fourth century coins, the latest dating from the time of Honorius, seems to indicate that the Mithraeum may well have continued in use up to the end of the fourth century.

The siting of the Mithraeum

Here, as at Les Bolards, the worship of Mithras became established in an indigenous sanctuary area, devoted to the worship of Celtic and Gallo-Roman gods. The principal divinities of the sanctuary appear to have been the Mother Goddesses, of whom numerous representations have been found, and other divinities include Epona, Ritona, Intarabos, Vertumnus, Apollo Grannus, Mercurius Peregrinorum and Jupiter.

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[1] Cf. E. & J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, pp. 28-36.

[2] The new Mithraeum will be treated more extensively in the present series by G. Ristow, *Die Mithras-Denkmäler in Köln.*

In such a cosmopolitan centre as Trier it is not surprising to find gods of such differing origins, and the number of Mithraic finds made elsewhere in the city has led scholars to suggest that there was more than one Mithraeum.

The possible sites of other Mithraea

A number of finds unearthed in Trier during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tabulated briefly by Lehner and more fully by Loeschcke, were grouped in three locations.[1] From the railway cutting in the vicinity of the Weberbach, between the Imperial baths and the sanctuary area of the Altbachtal, came the altar pedestal decorated with relief (No. 45), a bronze lion, and the front of a large bull in white clay. In Heiligkreuz, or the road leading to it, were found a limestone head, possibly of Cautes (No. 43), together with the head of a lion, in limestone, a lion's mask, the fragment of a head (?Genius), six clay lamps, and a knife with a gold handle.[2] From the same area came the damaged bronze tablet with an inscription (No. 44). The pottery workshops near the south wall of the Roman town yielded the fragment of a relief depicting the bull-slaying scene (App. B 6a), and another clay dish with a relief on the inside, depicting Sol and Mithras at the banquet, was found in the southern cemetery of the Roman town (App. B 9).

The finds from the pottery workshops indicate only that the potters included representations of the Mithraic cult among their repertoire of religious themes and in no way imply that this was the site of a Mithraeum. Moreover, the discoveries in Heiligkreuz are too fragmentary to permit accurate interpretation. This leaves the finds made near the railway cutting. In the second volume of his final report on the Altbachtal sanctuary Loeschcke suggests that a building, partially destroyed by the railway cutting, may well have been a second Mithraeum.[3] It is unfortunate that the damage caused by the railway cutting makes any more complete excavation of the building impossible, but from the evidence of Loeschcke's plan it seems unlikely that it could in fact have been a Mithraic cult room. It had "benches" over 4 m wide, and an exceedingly narrow nave (not much more than 1 m), and there was no anteroom to prevent a direct view in from the outside. Loeschcke himself intended to give a final survey of the Mithraic finds in the fourth volume of his report, but his untimely death prevented the completion of this invaluable study.

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[1] H. Lehner, *BJ*, CXXIX, 1924, p. 87, no. 263 ff.; S. Loeschcke, 'Mithrasdenkmäler aus Trier', *TH*, 1925, pp. 311 ff.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 991.

[3] S. Loeschcke, *Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale zu Trier*, II, Berlin 1942, pp. 163 ff.; p. 38.

7. Lillebonne (JULIOBONA), situated on the Bolbec gulf near the mouth of the Seine.

Site : Prof. Louis Harmand has recently produced a most interesting reappraisal of the excavations undertaken at Lillebonne in 1864.[1] The discoveries made at that time comprised a tomb (associated with the cult of Dionysus) and near it a building complex which appears to have included a dwelling house. One of the rooms seems, from its distinctive plan and the nature of the finds made inside, to have been a cult room and M. Harmand suggests that it was in fact a Mithraeum.

The information we have indicates that the room, length 12 m, width a little more than 6 m, was divided into a central nave ending in an apsidal projection, with, on either side, an aisle about 1 m wide. No indication is given as to whether or not the overall measurements are external or internal, and the central nave (width 4 m, or slightly less if the measurements are external) does seem unusually wide for a Mithraeum. The argument is, however, strengthened by the nature of the finds made inside the room, and fortunately the location of each find has been carefully recorded.

Two dedicatory altars were found on the left-hand side of the nave, and, amidst the débris of sculpture comprising fragments of arms, legs, and a foot wearing a sandal, there was a larger fragment depicting part of a torso, clothed in a short tunic, clasped under the armpits by a belt. This corresponds with the dress worn normally by the two torchbearers, and the fragments were found exactly where the statuettes of Cautes and Cautopates normally stood, by the entrance on either side of the nave. The other major find was a small low relief depicting a Sun God, the presence of which inside a Mithraeum would be entirely usual. This, the only fragment known to be extant, is described in detail under No. 52. It was found beside one of the altars mentioned above. There was no trace of the great cult relief, but M. Harmand suggests that two capitals, found inside the room, could have surmounted the columns on either side of the relief.

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[1] L. Harmand, *BSAF*, 1970, pp. 217-20. M. Harmand proposes to discuss his investigations in greater detail in a work due to appear in the present series.

It is not unlikely that the cult of Mithras should have become established in Lillebonne which, as both a port and *castrum*, was open to influence from distant parts of the Empire.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEDICANTS OF MITHRAIC MONUMENTS

Although in Gaul the structural remains of Mithraea are relatively few, over eighty monuments, including sculptures, inscriptions, and representations on pottery, may be associated with the cult of Mithras, and these are given detailed commentary in the Catalogue and in Appendix B. The representations on pottery (Appendix B) form a coherent and specialised group and are discussed in the following chapter, but it is the purpose of this summary to make some general observations on the type of people who dedicated monuments to this god, their origin, class, and occupation.

It is frequently asserted that the army played a very considerable role in the diffusion of Mithraism, and Garcia y Bellido, in his recent work on oriental cults in Spain, explains the paucity of Mithraic monuments in Spain by the infrequency of legionary traffic in the Peninsula.[1]

In Gaul, the situation is more complex. The provinces of Gaul were not garrisoned, and yet they have yielded a much larger number of Mithraic monuments than Spain. Of the inscriptions included in the Catalogue, only two specifically mention soldiers, and these are dedications to a *Deus Invictus* (Nos. 19 & 55). Their Mithraic character must, therefore, be treated with some caution.

On the other hand, the available evidence, although limited and therefore of doubtful value statistically, reveals the interesting fact that all the Mithraic inscriptions found in the area round the mouth of the Rhône are dedicated by men bearing Greek *cognomina.* As Thylander has pointed out, the possession of a Greek *cognomen* does not necessarily indicate a freedman of Greek origin — these names could be passed on for generations after enfranchisement [2] — but it is striking that the inscriptions were found in cosmopolitan centres which had a low proportion of indigenous inhabitants. At Vaison, where the dedication by L. Apronius Chrysomallus was found (No. 10), the indigenous population was only 13 % of the total.[1] Moreover, J.-J. Hatt has included a number of these *cognomina* amongst a group of religious names, the popularity of which spread into Gaul via the Rhône valley, largely through the agency of orientals, slaves, freedmen, and members of corporations.[2] The evidence indicates that the cult of Mithras followed this same route.

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[1] A. Garcia y Bellido, *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, Leiden 1967, p. 21.

[2] H. Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine*, Lund 1952, pp. 144-5.

From the mouth of the Rhône (where all the dedications have been dated tentatively before the end of the second century) the followers of Mithras carried the worship of their god northwards to Bourg St. Andéol, where a relief of the bull-slaying scene has been found cut into the rock-face (No. 13), and to the *mansio* of Mons Seleucus, a thriving commercial centre. A marble statuette of the bull-slaying scene (No. 14) is dedicated by a romanised Gaul, M. Julius Maternianus, probably one of the more prosperous inhabitants of the town, but the discovery at the same time of graffiti dedications to a *Deus Invictus* by the slaves Gaudentius and Euporius (No. 15) may indicate that the god had followers amongst the most humble members of the community.[3]

At Vieu-en-Val-Romey, further up the Rhône valley, a dedication is made to a Mithraic *pater* (No. 20), a man probably of Greek origin to judge by his *cognomen*, Eutactus, and the fact that he served the community as *medicus*. He seems to have married a woman of local origin, Caesiccia Januaria (their son was given the Celtic name Virilis), and his influence may well have encouraged a number of the local inhabitants to become followers of the cult of Mithras. Remains of a Mithraeum have been excavated, and a second inscription, dedicated to the Sun God and mentioning a man with the Gallic *cognomen*, Billicatidos (No. 21), possibly had a Mithraic context.

At several points along important routes outside the Rhône valley similar indications of Mithraic worship have been found. Evidence from Les Bolards seems to suggest that Mithraic influence travelled up the Saône, and at Elusa, in Aquitaine, situated on an important trade route between Bordeaux and Narbonne, a dedication is made by Sextus Vervicius Eutyches, the *pater* of the Mithraic community and a *vestiarius* (No. 4). His possession of a Greek *cognomen*, Eutyches, and his occupation as a cloth dealer, suggest that he was engaged in trade, probably on behalf of the family which had given him his freedom. This family seems to have been of Celtic origin, and the *pater* describes himself as a *civis trevir*. It is of note that Elusa was a *ville de sanctuaires*, and, although the evidence from funerary inscriptions indicates that the town always maintained a significant proportion of indigenous inhabitants (28 %), it is evident that the percentage of the population bearing Greek *cognomina* increased sharply in the second and third centuries A.D.[1]

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[1] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[3] It must be noted, however, that Hirschfeld considers these graffiti dedications false : *CIL*, XII, 5686, 1160.

The statuette (No. 3) found at the same time as this inscription is of Gallo-Roman workmanship, a rather clumsy interpretation of the torch-bearer type, suggesting that, in contrast to the Mediterranean port of Arles where the Mithraic statuary is of direct Hellenistic inspiration (Nos. 1-2), a local craftsman was commissioned to provide the necessary cult statues, the result being a rather unhappy marriage of imported symbolism and vernacular art.

Both Les Bolards and Trier have yielded dedications by men bearing a single Greek name.

From Les Bolards, which lies near one of the most important roads in Roman Gaul, that which linked Lyon with Trier and Cologne, comes a statue of Cautes, dedicated by a certain Anttiocus (No. 22), and Trier, the administrative capital of the Western Empire after A.D. 295 and a thriving commercial centre, has yielded an altar, dedicated to Mithras by a man bearing the name Nicasius, a name derived from *Nike* — suggesting triumph over death (No. 42).

It is clear, however, from the two altar dedications discovered in the same Mithraeum, that the *pater* of the community was a man most probably of local origin, Martius Martialis (Nos. 40-41). A general analysis of inscriptions from Trier, presented by J.-J. Hatt, indicates that the percentage of dedications by men bearing names of Gallic origin increased considerably in the third century A.D. to 44 %, while that of Orientals declined.[2] He suggests that this may be a reflection of the instability of the times, which led people to abandon the countryside for the security of the town and brought them into contact with a variety of foreign customs and religions. This area was an important recruiting ground for the legions, and it may well be that Martius Martialis became a follower of Mithras as a result of service with the Rhine army. There is evidence, although sometimes uncertain, that the army influenced the spread of Mithraism in some parts of Gaul.

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[1] J.-J. Hatt, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

The two soldiers' stones already mentioned, and dedicated to a *Deus Invictus*, record the names of a soldier of the 8th legion, found in Geneva and dated to A.D. 201 (No. 55), and of a *frumentarius* and *commentariensis* from Lyon, probably attached to the *officium* of the provincial governor (No. 19). Neither of these inscriptions can, with certainty, be identified with Mithras, but a second inscription, discovered in Lyon, records the name of the god and is dedicated by a certain Secundinus (No. 18). The adoption of a single romanised name was popular among the Gauls, and it may be that this Secundinus was a man of local origin and possibly a recruit to the legions. A similar dedication to a *Deus Invictus* by a certain Severianus is recorded on a stone from Lucey which lies on the road between Lyon and Geneva (No. 56). The Severan dynasty, and, in particular, the Emperor Septimius Severus, had an influence on the popularity of names with Severus as stem, and it is not without note that this Emperor, although pre-eminently associated with Serapis, also gave support to Mithraic worship.[1] Before he became Emperor, Septimius Severus was governor of Gallia Lugdunensis (probably A.D. 186-188), and he later led his army against Clodius Albinus at the battle of Lugdunum in A.D. 197. Possibly the army brought with them to this area the cult of Mithras.

The same process may be repeated at Sarrebourg, which lay on the military way to Germany and was in close contact with the base of the

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[1] For his association with Serapis, cf. H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo 1947, pp. 77 ff. The Syrian influence evident during his reign (the Empress Julia Domna was daughter of Julius Bassianus, high priest of Sol at Emesa) also benefited the Mithraists. November 18th and the days following became important as the Syrian New Year celebrations of Kronos Sol and the Mithraists of S. Prisca took the same day as their festival of initiation : M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, p. 125. There was also a priest of Mithras in the Imperial household : *Sacerdos Invicti Mithrae Domus Augustanae* : *CIL*, VI, 2271.

8th legion at Strasbourg. Here, a Mithraeum was established in the third century, and the impressive cult reliefs were dedicated by a romanised Gaul, Marceleus Marianus (Nos. 35-36). The proximity of the Mithraeum to a military base cannot, however, be taken as proof that the adherents were soldiers.[1]

From the evidence presented above, it seems reasonable to assume that the cult of Mithras became established in Gaul either along or nearby important trade routes, and was brought by men possessing Greek *cognomina.* In these ungarrisoned provinces the army played a less important role, but was most probably a factor in the spread of Mithraism, especially in the neighbourhood of Lyon and Sarrebourg, districts which were subjected to considerable military activity.

It is of particular interest that, with the exception of the area in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean ports, the cult seems to have won adherents from among the local population, and local craftsmen were evidently commissioned, in some cases, to supply the cult statues. Evidence from Cisalpine Gaul shows that these are not isolated instances of acceptance by the local population. Pascal has drawn attention to the wide geographical and social diffusion of Mithraic inscriptions in Cisalpine Gaul. Dedications come not only from the oriental quarter of Monastero but also from the higher, remoter areas of the Alto Adige and the Val di Non, and amongst the adherents of the cult are men of such widely differing backgrounds as a *servus*, Velox, and a municipal *duumvir*, G. Munatius Tiro.[2]

The discovery of a number of fragments of Mithraic reliefs at Entrains is of particular interest, since this settlement was not renowned for its commercial importance nor did it lie on an important military way. It was noted above all for its sanctuary, and St. Peregrine writes that it was *cultu et templis idolarum celeber*; a number of dedications have been found to Hercules, Jupiter, Apollo, Borvo, Candidus, and Epona, and the most impressive cult representation is the colossal statue of Apollo. It is evident that Entrains, situated in the midst of streams and marshes, was devoted, above all, to the worship of water divinities.[1] It is startling, therefore, to find such a large number of reliefs devoted to the worship of an oriental deity (Nos. 26-33).

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[1] Cf. above, p. 22, n. 3.

[2] C. B. Pascal, *The cults of Cisalpine Gaul* (Collection Latomus LXXV), Bruxelles 1964, p. 61; *CIMRM*, I, 747; 715.

As in Cisalpine Gaul, Mithraism seems to have won adherents amongst people of very different social background. The *vestiarius* and *pater* from Elusa, whose name is known from two inscriptions, both expensively executed in marble, (Nos. 4-5) must have been a man of some wealth and social standing, engaged in the profitable East Mediterranean clothing trade, and the impressive marble statuette of the bull-slaying scene found at Mons Seleucus (No. 14) was evidently commissioned by a prosperous local citizen, M. Julius Maternianus. Considerable expense and careful attention to detail were lavished on the great cult relief found in the Sarrebourg Mithraeum, and on the unusually rich representation of the cosmic birth from Trier (Nos. 35 & 39). In contrast, the modest altar dedicated to the god by Nicasius (No. 42), and the simple dedication made by Severianus to a *Deus Invictus* (No. 56), may be regarded as more humble expressions of faith.

Of the grades in the Mithraic mysteries, only the positions of *perses*, *pater*, *pater sacrorum* and *pater patrum* are mentioned on inscriptions from Gaul. It is striking that these positions are occupied, almost exclusively, by men who appear to be of Greek origin, for example, the *pater* from Elusa, Sextus Vervicius Eutyches (No. 4) and the *pater patrum* from Vieu-en-Val-Romey, G. Rufius Eutactus (No. 20). However, a dedication from Sextantio (No. 9) by a *pater sacrorum*, P. Anthius Logus, who as "father of the mysteries" had responsibility for the initiation to different grades and the acceptance of new members, indicates that there was provision for new followers to enter the higher grades, and a dedication by L. Apronius Chrysomallus seems to have been made on the occasion of his elevation to the grade of *perses* in the Mithraic community (No. 10). His name indicates, however, that he was not of Gallic origin; it therefore provides no evidence that the grades in the mysteries were open to the *ingenui* of Gaul.

Two altars, found in the Mithraeum discovered in the Altbachtal sanctuary area in Trier, are of particular significance in this respect; they reveal dedications by a *pater*, Martius Martialis (Nos. 40-41), whose name indicates that he was probably of local origin. It has been conjectured that, whilst in the earlier, probably second century dedications, the men who occupied important positions in the Mithraic community retained some connection with the East Mediterranean, the passage of time may have facilitated the initiation of men of Gallic origin into the Mithraic grades. It may be, however, that wealth was the principal qualification for being a *pater* in which case the increase in the number of dedications by Gauls might simply mean that more Gauls were becoming prosperous, not that some sort of Levantine 'closed shop' had at last been broken.

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[1] A. Grenier, *Manuel*, IV (2), Paris 1960, p. 712.

The evidence indicates that Mithraism had a cosmopolitan appeal; it attracted men of widely differing social background and origin and, as the following chapter will show, Mithraic representations had their place amongst the large repertoire of religious themes utilised by the potters of Trier and Lezoux.

CHAPTER THREE

MITHRAIC REPRESENTATIONS ON POTTERY

It is clear from the source of pottery finds bearing Mithraic representations, catalogued in Appendix B, that both the potters of Lezoux and of Trier were acquainted with Mithraic themes.

Finds made at Lezoux, the jar with an *appliqué* relief depicting the bull-slaying scene, the stamp for the same relief, and part of the mould for a torchbearer (App. B 1-3), all recovered from the pottery workshops, indicate that the type of Mithras *tauroctonos* was included among the repertoire of religious themes utilised by the potters at Lezoux in the second century A.D. In the same workshops have been found numerous other reliefs depicting a host of gods and goddesses, Jupiter, Vulcan, Apollo, Diana, Minerva, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Bacchus, and Hercules; indeed, a mould of the goddess Epona was recovered at the same time as the vessel depicting the bull-slaying scene. The latter is not, however, devoted exclusively to the type of Mithras; it also carries reliefs portraying goddesses of abundance. Moreover, the position of the Mithraic torchbearers is unusual; the torchbearer on the left has his torch raised instead of lowered.[1] Although, therefore, the type of Mithras *tauroctonos* was known at Lezoux, there is no evidence that this vessel was produced specifically for adherents of the cult. From the dating of the pot it seems that the type was in circulation at the beginning of the third century A.D.

A number of terracotta reliefs discovered at Trier, for the most part in the pottery workshops, are claimed by Loeschcke to have Mithraic significance. Although this identification is uncertain in the cases of the fragments bearing the relief of a bull and lions and the plate depicting lion, bull's head and corn ears (App. B 8 & 6(b)), it is clear from the discovery of fragments depicting the bull-slaying scene and a mould of the same relief (App. B 6(a) & 7) and from the dish with the representation of Mithras and Sol at the banquet (App. B 9) that the potters of Trier utilised various Mithraic themes. In Trier, as at Lezoux, the potters had a wide repertoire of religious themes; the clay relief of *médaillon* shape, depicting the bull-slaying scene, was found together with similar reliefs portraying a Mother Goddess and child and the head of Achelous.

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[1] For the positions of the torchbearers cf. L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 30-1; 81-3. Campbell suggests that the reversal of the normal positions is the result of strong South Iranian influence, but Prof. J. R. Harris thinks it may simply depend on conceptions of east-west/right-left i.e. Cautes on the side where the sun is thought to rise. We tend to think of the world as directed towards the north (with east therefore on the right), whereas the ancient Egyptians, for example, thought of the world as directed south (with east therefore on the left).

However, the present state of evidence seems to indicate that at Trier, unlike Lezoux, the potters utilised a variety of Mithraic types, and by the addition of the two torchbearers in correct position and of the busts of Sol and Luna they reproduced with greater accuracy the scene found on the great stone reliefs of the Rhineland. Moreover, they were acquainted with the more unusual scene of Sol and Mithras at the banquet. The argument *ex silentio* must be treated with some caution, but it is striking that in Trier, in contrast to Lezoux, there have been found a number of stone fragments, probably related to the cult of Mithras, and also the structural remains of a Mithraeum with dedicatory altars. The potters of Trier may, therefore, have had a much more immediate contact with Mithraic cult scenes, and may even have fabricated vessels deliberately for the use of the Mithraic community in their own town. The few indications of date offered for the terracotta fragments would suggest that their fabrication coincided with the life of the Mithraeum towards the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

Apart from the potters' workshops of Lezoux and Trier the only other locality which has furnished a certain Mithraic representation on pottery is Alesia. A dish, decorated on the inside with a relief *en barbotine*, representing the bull-slaying scene, and a fragment of moulded relief depicting a torchbearer with torch lowered (App. B 4 & 5), were unearthed from the water channel which ran to the south of a row of colonnades on the north side of the *forum*.[1] Much pottery has been recovered from this area, the majority of it imported ware from Lezoux (up to the second century) and North-East Gaul (from the second century onwards). Alesia produced only a coarse local pottery, and the two fragments that concern us were obviously of imported ware. H. Vertet has suggested that they should be connected with types fabricated at Lezoux. It is true that the relief of the torchbearer may be compared with similar moulded reliefs found on the fragment of a dish from Clermont Ferrand (App. B 11) and on the jar with the relief of the bull-slaying scene from Lezoux, but the relief from Alesia seems to have been deliberately modified; a torch, pointing downwards was added *en barbotine*, possibly to balance a larger composition comprising the scene of Mithras *tauroctonos* flanked by the two torchbearers. It should, however, be emphasized that this reconstruction is hypothesis only; all that remains is the fragment depicting one torchbearer.

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[1] J. le Gall, *Alesia, archéologie et histoire*, Paris 1963, pp. 174-5; for plan of excavations see pp. 123-5.

With regard to the relief executed wholly *en barbotine* and depicting the bull-slaying scene, Vertet has also claimed a connection with the *appliqué* relief from Lezoux. He points out that the figures on both are surrounded by the same border of foliage.[1] However, he fails to draw attention to one major difference between the two reliefs; the relief from Alesia is executed entirely *en barbotine* while that from Lezoux is, for the large part, moulded, and only the border is traced *en barbotine*. Both Dragendorff and Déchelette have pointed out that, whilst in Central Gaul the barbotine technique was used only to complete a simple border of leaves, it was adopted by the potters of Eastern Gaul and Britain to decorate vessels with the figures of mythical characters, animals, wild beasts, such as hares, hinds, does and lions, and hunting scenes.[2] The workshops of Rheinzabern produced vessels decorated entirely *en barbotine*, and this fashion trend appears to have influenced the fabrication of colour coated hunt cups in the Nene valley. A Castor ware beaker from Verulamium, with green-brown colour coat, and decorated with figures *en barbotine*, has been dated to the late second century or early third century A.D. It depicts a series of gods with, on the left, in profile, a figure dressed in a tunic, decorated with stars and crosses, wearing a Phrygian cap and holding a bow, ? Mithras. A second figure depicts Hercules, a lion's skin over his arm, and the winged feet of the missing third figure probably represent Mercury : one more pair of feet also survive.[1]

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[1] H. Vertet, 'Les représentations mithriaques sur les vases d'argile en Gaule', *Actes du 88ᵉ congrès national des sociétés savantes Clermont Ferrand 1963*, Paris 1965, pp. 125-6.

[2] J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, II, Paris 1904, pp. 309-12; H. Dragendorff, *BJ*, XCVI, 1895, p. 119.

It seems likely, therefore, that the relief from Alesia, representing Mithras *tauroctonos*, was influenced by the pottery of Eastern rather than Central Gaul. The relief reproduces accurately the type of the bull-slaying scene with a torchbearer on either side.

It is obvious that, by the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century, the type of Mithras *tauroctonos* had become established among the themes utilised by Gallic potters, but it is difficult to correlate these representations on pottery with the spread of the cult of Mithras in Gaul. One can assume neither that the potters themselves were aware of the symbolic significance of the scenes they portrayed, nor that they produced this work specifically for Mithraic worshippers. Only in Trier, where a Mithraic community is known from independent evidence, may there have been some connection between the fabrication of Mithraic representations on pottery and the local Mithraic community.

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[1] *Archaeologia*, XC, 1944, pp. 121-2, fig. 20, no. 1; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London 1962, p. 190, no. 157, pl. 190.

CHAPTER FOUR

MITHRAS AND THE GODS OF GAUL

It has long been recognised that the cult of Mithras assimilated a number of gods of the official pantheon and, in the early third century, enjoyed Imperial patronage, but less attention has been paid to its relation with the local gods of the provinces. It is, therefore, the purpose of this chapter to devote particular attention to the impact of this unfamiliar and mysterious cult on the indigenous population of Gaul, and its relation with the local Celtic divinities.

This said, one must be aware of the limitations imposed by the nature of the evidence. The available material, almost purely archaeological, cannot be pressed to yield any definitive judgment on the religious thinking or motivation of individual worshippers. This difficulty has been clearly highlighted by the lack of scholarly agreement on the functions of the Gallo-Roman gods, Mars and Mercury. When Caesar described the gods of Gaul, he merely ascribed to the local divinities the functions performed by the official gods of the Roman pantheon, his intention being to convince his audience that the Roman gods were universal : *De[or]um maxime Mercurium colunt; huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur; post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes habent opinionem.*[1]

This precise interpretation of the function of these Gallo-Roman gods has been strongly challenged by Benoit who, in his recent work on the gods of Gaul, stresses that the religion of the old Gallic sanctuaries, far from confirming the universal and precise functional character of the gods of Caesar, reveals the persistence of the physical and naturalistic associations of the *numen*, the divine being of the sanctuary, which may be manifested in a cave, spring, mountain top, rock, or forest.[2] In an earlier work he noted that the divinity of springs was a common feature of primitive religions, and that natural phenomena, such as springs or mountains, were often associated with territorial boundaries and were marked by an altar or frontier sanctuary.[1] The protective divinity of the spring was often invoked by casting valuables into the water, and Strabo, in his *Geography*, draws attention to the riches found in the sacred lakes of Toulouse. He explains that the Romans sold the lakes, to the profit of the public fisc, and that the buyers enriched themselves from the treasure found in the water.[2]

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[1] *De Bello Gallico*, VI, 17, 1-3.

[2] F. Benoit, *Art et dieux de la Gaule*, Paris 1969, p. 55; *Le symbolisme dans les sanctuaires de la Gaule*, Bruxelles 1970, pp. 5 ff.

Against this background Roman gods were introduced. It is striking that, very often, Roman names were attached to local divinities, whose indigenous name was retained as an epithet, a process referred to by Tacitus as *interpretatio Romana.* Moreover, the Roman gods seem to have been readily accepted in the old Gallic sanctuaries. Both Mars and Mercury were invoked as healing divinities.[3] They also became guardians of territory : Mercury acquired a number of local epithets, Arvernus, Dumias, and Canetonnensis, and dominated the sanctuary of Donon, strategically placed on a forested mountain top at the frontier between the Leuci, Mediomatrici, and Triboci.[4] Mars was the guardian of the sanctuary of Mars Lenus, situated on the left bank of the Moselle and, according to Gose, *das Stammesheiligtum der Treverer.*[5]

Apollo, god of the sun and protector of health, was also readily assimilated with local gods, in particular with the divinities of healing springs.[6] The sanctuary at Essarois, which, from the number of *ex votos* of limbs found, seems to have been devoted to divinities of healing, has produced a number of dedications to *Deo Apollini Vindonno,*[7] and at

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[1] F. Benoit, *Mars et Mercure*, Aix-en-Provence 1959, pp. 183 ff.

[2] L. Bonnard, *La Gaule thermale*, Paris 1908, p. 151; Strabo, *Geography*, IV, 1, 13.

[3] The *nymphaeum* of Icovellauna near Metz has produced a dedication, *Deo Mercurio pro salute*, and at the sanctuary of Marberg, Moselle, Mars Lenus was invoked by a Greek Tychicius in thanks for his recovery from a long illness : A. Grenier, *Manuel*, IV (2), p. 896, n. 2; *CIL*, XIII, 7661.

[4] A. Grenier, *Manuel*, IV (2), pp. 829-30, nn. 1-2.

[5] E. Gose, *Der Tempelbezirk des Lenus Mars in Trier*, Berlin 1955, p. 11.

[6] E. Thévenot, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule*, Paris 1968, pp. 97 ff.

[7] G. Drioux, *Cultes indigènes des Lingons*, Paris 1934, pp. 20-4; L. Bonnard, *La Gaule thermale*, Paris 1908, p. 245; *CIL*, XIII, 5644; 5645. Note that the suffix *onno*

Bourbonne-les-Bains, a sanctuary also devoted to divinities of thermal springs, dedications have been found to *Deo Apollini Borvoni et Damonae.*[1] It is clear, therefore, that the official Roman gods became quickly assimilated with the traditional divinities of the Gallic sanctuaries, but what of the cult of Mithras, a more exclusive and mysterious religion?

E. Thévenot has suggested that Mithras, like Apollo, gained acceptance in sanctuaries dedicated to healing divinities. Some of his evidence is uncertain and open to dispute; at Mandeure the evidence for the worship of Mithras comes from the isolated inscription, *D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)/ Pro Salute Sexti/* [*Ma*]*eni Pudentis* (No. 59);[2] this does not, however, presuppose the existence of a Mithraic community. Thévenot argues that the discovery of an oculist's stamp bearing the name L. F. Mercurialis and carrying representations of the sun, moon, and planets provides evidence of the association between Mithras and the healing divinities at Mandeure, but, although this stamp demonstrates the connection between religion and medicine, it need not necessarily be associated with the cult of Mithras.[3] An inscription to *Sol* at Néris-les-Bains a sanctuary of healing waters, does not particularly imply the worship of Mithras,[4] nor may a fragmentary inscription from the important sanctuary at Grand (devoted largely to the worship of Apollo Grannus) be ascribed, with any certainty to this god. The fragment has been restored to read *soli de*]*o invi*[*cto*, but *soli* is mere conjecture and the epithet *invictus* could apply to any one of a number of gods. Moreover, the building in which the inscription was found has none of the characteristics of a Mithraeum.[5] The finds of Mithraic representations on pottery at Alise-Sainte-Reine (an important sanctuary of healing springs)

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renders the idea of a source : A. Dauzat, 'Quelques noms prélatins de l'eau', *REA*, XXVIII, 1926, p. 157.

[1] *CIL*, XIII, 5911; G. Drioux, *Cultes indigènes des Lingons*, Paris 1934, pp. 24-9. The name Borvo derives from the Celtic borvo = boiling or seething : A. Holder, *Altceltischer sprachschatz*, I, Leipzig 1896, p. 493; Borvo was therefore a god of thermal springs.

[2] *CIL*, XIII, 11556; *CIMRM*, I, 939 = II, 1324.

[3] *RA*, 1927 (2), p. 160, no. 238; p. 161, no. 239.

[4] *CIL*, XIII, 1375 = 11163.

[5] *CIL*, XIII, 5940; G. Drioux, *Cultes indigènes des Lingons*, Paris 1934, p. 31.

do not necessarily indicate the presence of a Mithraic community, and no structural remains of a Mithraeum have been found.

Thévenot is, however, on firmer ground when he turns to consider known Mithraea. Excavations at Les Bolards, although imperfectly carried out, have led to the discovery of a Mithraeum, in which were found a number of *ex votos* of hands and eyes. To the north of the Mithraeum were discovered bronze plaques with incisions in the shape of eyes (*ex votos* for the healing of eye diseases), and to the south, a temple which Thévenot tentatively identified as a Mithraeum and which may have been connected with healing divinities. Inside it were found a marble bust of Venus, several small female heads, *ex votos* of eyes in bronze, and the head of a helmeted goddess, probably Minerva. Drioux has drawn attention to the role of this goddess as protector of healing springs; she appears in relation with the nymphs, *Minervae sacrum nympheros*,[1] and on a bronze from the Musée départemental des antiquités de Rouen she is depicted carrying a *patera*, in the manner of a Mother Goddess.[2] One of the triads of Mother Goddesses found in the immediate neighbourhood depicts, on one corner of the relief, a ship's prow, an attribute frequently ascribed to aquatic deities, and it seems quite probable that all the divinities worshipped in this sanctuary were, at least in part, protectors of the healing water of the Meuzin.[3]

A parallel may be drawn from the finds at Entrains, an important sanctuary of healing springs.[4] According to the life of St. Peregrine, the sanctuary attracted a large number of gods, amongst them Hercules, Jupiter, and Apollo.[5] The latter was assimilated with the Celtic god Borvo, and the colossal statue, erected in his honour, indicates that the sanctuary was, in main, devoted to his worship.[1] The strict association between medicine and religion is emphasised by the find of a statue of Aesculapius and hoards of oculists' stamps.[2] It appears that in this milieu the worship of Mithras found many adherents. Although no structural remains of a Mithraeum have been found, it is evident from the large number of Mithraic cult reliefs brought to light that there was at least one Mithraeum, if not more, in the sanctuary area.

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[1] *CIL*, XIII, 6295; G. Drioux, *op. cit.*, Paris 1934, pp. 52-5.

[2] E. Espérandieu & H. Rolland, *Bronzes antiques de la Seine maritime*, Paris 1959, p. 32, no. 30, pl. XII.

[3] E. Thévenot, 'Le culte des déesses-mères à la station gallo-romaine des Bolards', *RAEst*, II, 1951, p. 10.

[4] The name *inter-anam* means 'among marshes': A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, I, Leipzig 1896, p. 135.

[5] Vita S. Peregrini (*AASS*, 16 May) *In territorio civitatis Autissiodivensis Interamnus dicitur cultu et templis idolorum celeber. Quodam Eolercus, Iovis, Apollinis vel multorum nefariorum portenta consecraverat.*

It is possible that at Vieu-en-val-Romey there existed another such sanctuary, but, in this case, the evidence is less precise. The site was excavated imperfectly in the 19th century and no plans drawn. According to the literary accounts, the excavations brought to light the remains of a temple complex, with, nearby, some foundations which were thought to be bath buildings. Part of the temple complex was identified as a Mithraeum. An enormous pedestal base, found near the Mithraeum and the remains of a stone wreath may have belonged to the statue of Apollo, similar to that at Entrains, but the evidence is too scanty to permit a confident reconstruction. It is, however, striking that the village lay near an important thermal spring, still used down to modern times, and that the *pater* of the Mithraic community, known from an inscription, was a *medicus*.

Possibly the most interesting evidence of the connection between the cult of Mithras and that of healing springs comes from the isolated Mithraic sanctuary near Bourg St. Andéol, situated close by the spring known as La Tourne, which, long after the triumph of Christianity, seems to have been regarded as possessing purificatory powers. During the Middle Ages the spring was used for the so-called 'test of leprosy'. The man suspected of being a leper was led to the bank of the stream and bled; his blood was then put into a vessel and plunged into the water. Two barbers from the town were mandated by the consuls to act as judges, and if, when the vessel was removed from the water, they recognised no mark of corruption (i.e. if the blood in the vessel remained red and liquid) they declared the man free from the taint of leprosy. A test of this kind took place on 3 June 1422, and was recorded by M.

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[1] *CIL*, XIII, 2901 : *Aug(usto) sacr(um) deo Borvoni et Candido*; Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 247, no. 2243 & fig.

[2] Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 246, no. 2241 & fig.

Guignes Ribbon, notary of the episcopal court at Bourg St. Andéol.[1]

The Mithraeum had been deliberately sited on the hillside above the spring and the cult relief was cut into the living rock face, the indication being that running water was in some way directly connected with the mysteries; according to Porphyry a Mithraeum had to be sited near running water. Dedications to the *fons perennis* have been found in a number of Mithraea,[2] and one of the scenes from the Mithraic cycle depicts the god striking a rock and causing water to gush out.[3] A text, discovered in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum has thrown further light on the significance of running water in the Mithraic mysteries; the stream, which flowed from amongst the rocks, was a source of life giving water and immortal refreshment.[4] It is clear from Tertullian's scornful reference to the Mithraic "baptism" that the regenerative power of water played an important role in the mysteries.[5]

The considerations which led the adherents of Mithras to place a sanctuary to their god near running water facilitated the assimilation of Mithras with the divinities who protected those sacred streams. Apollo, who as a Sun God was often found associated with Mithras,[6] became worshipped in Gaul, above all as a god of healing and was linked with the rite of purification by water, *Apollo noster cuius ferventibus aquis*

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[1] M. l'Abbé Rouchier, *Bas relief mithriaque de Bourg St. Andéol*, Grenoble 1861, p. 19.

[2] Cf. L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, p. 299; *CIMRM*, II, 1753 (Aquincum); 1533 (Poetovio).

[3] Cf. the relief from Dieburg : F. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg*, Berlin 1928, p. 29, no. 3, fig. 28.

[4] M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, Leiden 1965, pp. 193-200.

[5] Tertullian, *De Baptismo* (ed. B. Luiselli, Turin 1960), V, 1 : *sedenim nationes extraneae ab omni intellectu spiritualium potestatem eadem efficacia idolis suis subministrant sed viduis aquis sibi mentiuntur nam et sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur. Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae ipsos etiam deos suos lavationibus efferent.*

[6] Cf. the altar from Whitley Castle, found in marshy ground north-east of the Roman fort. All four sides of the capital have sculptured panels, that on the front representing Apollo Citharoedus, that on the right Apollo as Sol, with radiate crown and holding a whip in his left hand, and that on the left ? Apollo Maponus, receiving a libation offered by a second figure. The fourth panel on the back shows a central figure, standing on a raised base and flanked by two torchbearers in the attitudes of Cautes and Cautopates : E. & J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, pp. 47-8.

perjuria puniuntur.[1] It may well be, therefore, that the close association between the two gods facilitated the acceptance of Mithras in the Gallic sanctuaries where Apollo was already worshipped as a god of healing.

It is evident that the acceptance of Mithras by the indigenous population was more widespread than has been previously imagined. In the area of the *limes*, the local recruits to the legions, who became followers of the Mithraic cult, placed the sanctuaries to their new god alongside those of long established Celtic deities. At Sarrebourg the Mithraeum (dated to the third and fourth centuries A.D.) was built into a hillside overlooking the river, a site already occupied by the Celtic divinities, Sucellus and Nantosvelta.[2] Both the Mithraic cult relief and the altars to the Celtic deities were dedicated by romanised Gauls.[3]

At Königshoffen, an altar to the Celtic god Cissonius was found inside the Mithraeum itself, again dedicated by a romanised Gaul.[4]

Elsewhere, in the frontier area of Britain, the same close contact between the cult of Mithras and that of the local deities seems to have occured. At Housesteads there were two small altars with dedications to Cocidius,[5] and in the Mithraeum at Carrawburgh one of the smaller altars had been originally dedicated to the Matres but was subsequently reused and the inscribed face turned towards the wall. In the *narthex* of the same Mithraeum there was found the statuette of a Mother Goddess, which, from its weathered condition, had obviously stood out in the open originally.[1] The statuette of a Mother Goddess, nursing a child, was also found in the Mithraeum at Dieburg.[2] The increasing contact between deities of widely differing origin may be epitomized in the important sanctuary area of the Altbachtal. This sanctuary area, originally devoted to the divinities of water (a small temple near the source of the Altbach marks the persistence of this cult), became increasingly cosmopolitan in religious life, a reflection of the constant traffic circulating through the important administrative and commercial centre of Trier. In the Altbachtal sanctuary area were gathered together a whole host of gods and goddesses of Celtic, Roman, and Oriental origin, and amongst the temples there was at least one Mithraeum, if not more.[3]

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[1] E. Galletier, *Panégyriques latins*, II, Paris 1952, *Panegyricus Constantio Dictus*, VII, 21.

[2] On inscriptional evidence, S. Reinach has dated the altar depicting the god and goddess to the late first or early second century A.D. : S. Reinach, *Revue celtique*, XVII, 1896, p. 47.

[3] For the Mithraic cult relief see No. 35. The altars to Sucellus and Nantosvelta bear the following inscriptions : (1) *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) M(arcus) Tignuarius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* The name Tignuarius is of Celtic origin: A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, II, Leipzig 1904, p. 1842. (2) *Deo Sucello Nantosvelt(a)e Bellausus Mass(a)e filius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* Bellausus is Celtic : A. Holder, *op. cit.*, I, Leipzig 1896, p. 387. Kajanto included Massa among his Latin *cognomina*, with the reservation that it was only found in Celtic areas : I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, p. 341; but Holder classifies it as Celtic : A. Holder, *op. cit.*, II, p. 454.

[4] *Deo Cissonio Gittonius Pippausus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).*

[5] E. & J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, p. 35; *CIMRM*, I, 866; 867.

It is well known that the cult of Mithras assimilated a large number of gods of the official Roman Pantheon; Mithras was quite frequently associated with the gods Apollo and Mercury,[4] and this conflation may be noticed particularly in the rich cult reliefs of the Rhine area, which were surmounted by an assembly of gods.[5] It seems evident, however, that Mithras was also conflated with Celtic divinities and became well established in some of the old sanctuaries of Gallic origin.

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[1] I. A. Richmond & J. P. Gillam, 'The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh', *Arch. Ael.*, XXIX, 1951, p. 33, pl. XIVa; p. 30, pl. Xa.

[2] Esp., *Rec. Germ.*, p. 170, no. 254 & fig; *CIMRM*, II, 1262, fig. 331; F. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg*, Berlin 1928, p. 35, no. 14, fig. 39.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 23 ff.

[4] For his assimilation with Mercury see No. 46.

[5] E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, pp. 376-7.

PART TWO

CATALOGUE OF MATERIAL

Explanatory note

The material, in the Catalogue and in Appendices A and B, has been arranged in the following manner :

Where a number of monuments, not all of which are of certain Mithraic character, have been found on the same site or in the same town, they are catalogued together. With the exception of these, the monuments of uncertain Mithraic character are listed at the end of the Catalogue, and rejected monuments are grouped in Appendix A. Appendix B, which deals with Mithraic representations on pottery, also contains, at the end, a discussion of the highly enigmatic motifs which appear on a lead sarcophagus from St. Auban.

I have taken the line of the Moselle and the Saar as my eastern boundary, thus taking in Saarbrucken and Sarrebourg but excluding Schwarzerden and Mackwiller.

CATALOGUE

MITHRAIC INSCRIPTIONS AND MONUMENTS

1. *A damaged marble statue found at Arles (ARELATE),* now in the Musée lapidaire d'art païen, Arles, Inventory no. P 375 : see Frontispiece, kindly provided by M. Jean-Maurice Rouquette, curator of the museum.

Findspot : The statue was found in 1598, during the digging of foundations for a water mill by the Craponne Canal in the quarter of La Roquette. It remained for some time in the possession of a tailor, and was then acquired by Amat de Graveson on whose death it was sold to the consuls of Arles for 27 livres 14 sols tournois and placed, in 1723, on the third step of the great stairway of the consulate, in front of the *salle de conseil.*

The findspot lies near the site of the Roman circus, which was situated outside the *colonia*, about 500 m south of the rampart.

Of white marble, height 95 cm, width 46 cm, thickness 34 cm, it represents a god known as the Mithraic Kronos or Saturn and misinterpreted in the eighteenth century as Aesculapius. The head, arms, and lower part of the body are missing, but we may deduce from numerous examples elsewhere that the head was that of a lion.[1] Its hands, pressed against its chest, probably held either one or two keys as in examples from Oxyrhynchus, Rome, and Florence.[2] This god, dressed in a tunic,[3] is encircled by a serpent, between whose coils are placed the signs of the Zodiac grouped in threes according to the seasons, the progression being downward from left to right : Aries Taurus Gemini (spring), Cancer Leo Virgo (summer), Libra Scorpio Centaurus (autumn); the three winter signs, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces are lost. This order of the zodiac is found regularly on *tauroctonos* reliefs from Germany, and on the representation of the cosmic birth from Trier (No. 39).[1] Both Constans and Cumont have drawn attention to the exceptional representation of the Gemini, one holding a lyre, the other a sceptre, and these they interpret as the two Theban brothers Amphion and Zethos. This torso was probably the model for a curious reconstruction in Montfaucon, depicting a figure surrounded by a snake (the head of the snake is wrongly placed at the foot of the figure) between which are placed the signs of the zodiac. The bearded head is surmounted by a *modius* with six rays.[2]

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[1] Only rarely was this type represented with a human head, as on the statue from Merida : *CIMRM*, I, 777, fig. 211. R. Turcan, *Les religions d'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, p. 23, suggests that the figure from Arles did not have a lion's head, but M. Pobé & J. Roubier, *The Art of Roman Gaul*, London 1961, p. 65, no. 136, draw attention to the traces of a mane.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 103, fig. 36; 551, fig. 157; 655, fig. 188.

[3] R. Turcan, *op. cit.*, p. 24, comments that the Aion of Arles is unique of its kind. Usually the god is naked or wears a loin cloth and there is no parallel for a fully clothed figure. Turcan suggests that this Aion was intended to represent Saturn.

Dating : Espérandieu has described the statue as Greek work, probably of the first century A.D., and Constans suggests a second century date. It is unlikely that the figure can be earlier than the last quarter of the second century, a date supported by Turcan's comment that *ce mélange d'élégance maniérée et de force caractérise certains produits romains des années 180-200.*[3]

It is not clear whether the statue was found *in situ.* A lamp, found nearby, has been proved to have no connection with the cult of Mithras, and the *colonnes de granit, des marbres* mentioned by Millin, could come from a rubbish heap and need not point to the structural remains of a Mithraeum.[4] The suggestion that there may have been a Mithraeum in one of the rooms of the circus must, therefore, be treated with some caution, but should not be entirely dismissed. There was a Mithraeum near the Circus Maximus in Rome which most probably served the circus personnel : it appears that the Mithraeum of the Forum Boarium was accessible from a road which overlooked the *Carceres* of the Circus

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[1] D. Levi, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 292, fig. 17.

[2] B. de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, II, pl. XLII; Lajard, *Recherches*, p. 586, n. 5; *MMM*, II, 446 (v), fig. 392. From this figure was derived a similar representation, incorporated in the so-called Apis altar of J. M. Dinglinger : cf. R. Enking, *Der Apis-Altar Johann Melchior Dinglingers*, Leipzig 1939, pp. 53 f., pl. 21, right.

[3] R. Turcan, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[4] *CIMRM*, I, 880.

Maximus.[1] Arles, situated at the bridging point of the Rhône, commanded a strategic position for communication with the Gallic hinterland. To the north lay the Rhône valley, to the east that of the Durance, and to the west the road to Nîmes and the Auvergne. Established as a *colonia* for the 6th legion, it became an enormously important commercial centre, particularly for the east and north of Gaul, and represented the point of contact between the Mediterranean region and the continental regions of the Seine and Rhine. Indeed, Constantine chose the town as his place of residence. Both Strabo and Ausonius speak of its richness and importance [2] and it is not surprising, therefore, to find in this cosmopolitan centre evidence of the worship of Mithras.

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F. Lajard, *Introduction*, pl. LXXIII, 2.

J. Trichaud, *Itineraire du visiteur des principaux monuments d'Arles*, Paris 1855, p. 36.

F. Lajard, *Recherches*, p. 582, n. 5.

H. Bazin, *Villes antiques, Arles gallo-romain, St. Trophime et Montmajour*, Paris

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[1] M. J. Vermaseren, *De Mithrasdienst in Rome*, Nijmegen 1951, p. 45; C. Pietrangeli, 'Il mitreo del Palazzo dei musei di Roma', *BCR*, 1940, p. 158.

[2] Strabo, *Geography*, IV, 1, 6; Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, X:

Pande duplex Arelate, tuos blanda hospita portus,
Gallula Roma Arelas, quam Narbo Martius et quam
accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colonis,
praecipitis Rhodani sic intercisa fluentis,
ut mediam facias navali ponte plateam,
per quam Romani commercia suscipis orbis
nec cohibes, populosque alios et moenia ditas,
Gallia quis fruitur gremioque Aquitania lato.

1896, p. 134, no. 5.
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MMM, I, p. 112; II, 281, fig. 325.
CIMRM, I, 879, fig. 227.

2. *A head from Arles*, now in the Musée lapidaire d'art païen, Arles : see Pl. I, kindly supplied by M. Jean-Maurice Rouquette.

Findspot : The head is said to be of local origin, but there is no information regarding the exact date or circumstances of the find.

Of limestone,[1] height 29 cm, it depicts a young man with curly hair, wearing a Phrygian cap. The arch of the eyebrows is very prominent and both mouth and nostrils are finely treated. The expression is described by Espérandieu as *pathétique*. It cannot be claimed with certainty that this head came from a statue of Mithras, but the curly hair is typical of solar divinities and the *regard douleureux* or *pathétique* was particularly employed to emphasise the divine character of a person, and, in the case of Mithras, to indicate his regret at killing the bull.[2]

Dating : J.-J. Hatt has noted a wave of Hellenistic influence in Gaul in the second half of the second century A.D. which, linked with the oriental mystery cults, created a romantic and mystical style. Our sculpture may, therefore, be dated tentatively to the end of the second or early third century;[1] the museum description gives the date as third century A.D.

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[1] Espérandieu describes it as Italian marble.

[2] E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, pp. 184-5.

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CIMRM, I, 881.

3. *A statuette from Ciuta (ELUSA),* now in the Musée d'art et d'archéologie, Auch : see Pl. II, kindly presented by M. Samuel.

Findspot : The statuette was found in 1736, in the foundations of *bâtimens où il existoit des vestiges de tombeaux* (d'Orbessan) not far from the village of Ciuta in Armagnac which was built on the ruins of the Roman town of Elusa.

Of white marble, height 48 cm, width 27 cm, it depicts Cautes, standing cross-legged. The torchbearer wears on his head a Phrygian cap with the point bent forwards, and is clothed in a tunic with long tight-fitting sleeves, gathered at the waist in a large fold. A cloak hangs over his shoulder and his legs are clothed in *anaxyrides.* He holds the raised torch with both hands.

Vermaseren, following Cumont's engraving of the statuette, has described the figure as not cross-legged, but the information in Daignan d'Orbessan and Espérandieu, together with the evidence of the photograph received from Auch museum, shows clearly that the torchbearer was cross-legged. The stone has been left unworked at the back, indicating that this monument was so positioned in the Mithraeum that it was normally seen from one side only. It probably stood up against the front of one of the benches.

Of Gallo-Roman workmanship, it is a rather squat and coarse interpretation of the torchbearer type.

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[1] J.-J. Hatt, *Sculptures gauloises 600 B.C.-400 A.D.,* Paris 1966, p. 66.

Dating : The sculpture was found in the same place as the following inscription, which has been tentatively dated pre third century A.D., but this cannot be regarded as a really significant indication of date.

It is not surprising to find the cult of Mithras established at Elusa, which was situated on one of the main routes by which Bordeaux and West Aquitaine communicated with Narbonne. It was the old capital of the Elusates and became a *colonia*, probably at the beginning of the third century A.D. The cult of Mithras may have been introduced either by veterans of the legions or by merchants engaged in trade with the Mediterranean. From the evidence of the two following inscriptions it seems that one of the leading men in the Mithraic community was a cloth dealer.

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CIMRM, I, 884.

4. *An inscription from Ciuta (ELUSA)*, now in the Musée d'art et d'archéologie, Auch : see Pl. III, kindly provided by M. Samuel.

> DEO INVICT(O) / SEX(TUS) VERVIC(IUS) / EUTYCHES / VESTIAR(IUS) CIV(IS) / TREV(IR) PATER

Findspot : The inscription was already known in 1768, when Daignan d'Orbessan described it in the *Mélanges*. It was found in the same locality as the statuette of the torchbearer described above, near the village of Ciuta.

It is engraved on a white marble tablet of trapezoidal shape, framed in modern times within a border of black marble, height 11.5 cm, width at the base 12.3 cm and at the top 11 cm. The letters are between 11 and 14 mm in height, with the exception of the second I and T of INVICT (9 mm and 6 mm respectively), the O of DEO (4.5 mm), and the I of CIV (4 mm).

Dating : Some internal indications of date may be gained from the name of the dedicant, Sextus Vervicius Eutyches. The presence of the *praenomen* suggests a date earlier than the third century A.D. after which time *praenomina* tended to be abandoned.[1]

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Eutyches, is of Greek origin and is the equivalent of the Roman *fortunatus*. The *gentilicium*, Vervicius, is non-Roman,[2] but although our dedicant describes himself as a *civis trevir* his name is not specifically Treveran in origin.[3] The name appears in Noricum and Pannonia Inferior,[4] and there seems to have been a radiation from the Illyricum district towards the Rhine, and from the Moselle into Aquitaine. This assumption seems to be borne out by two other inscriptions from Aquitaine.[5]

It may be that Sextus Vervicius Eutyches was a man of Greek origin who had received his freedom from a citizen family of Celtic descent. He was undoubtedly engaged in commerce, since he is named a *vestiarius*, cloth dealer, and was probably connected with the East Mediterranean clothing trade.

As *pater*, he was the leader of the Mithraic community. His title is reaffirmed by a second inscription found at Elusa, and the quality of the inscriptions, both in marble, indicates the affluence of the donor.

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[1] R. Cagnat, p. 281, n. 12, following R. Weynand, 'Form und Decoration der römischen Grabsteine der Rheinlande im I Jahrhundert', *BJ*, CVIII-IX, 1902, pp. 189 ff., quotes data from the Rhineland; the application of his conclusions to the whole of Gaul must, therefore, be treated with some caution.

[2] For the use of the prefix Ver- cf. D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, Oxford 1967, pp. 279-80.

[3] J. L. Weisgerber, 'Die Namen der Treverer', *Rhein. Museum für Philologie*, 84, 1935, p. 304. Vervic — 1 example only.

[4] K. H. Schmidt, 'Die Komposition in gallischen Personen-Namen', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 26, 1957, p. 292; *CIL*, III, 3381 (Pannonia Inferior); III, 5350 (Noricum).

[5] *CIL*, XIII, 558; 878; J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln 1968, pp. 246-7.

5. *An inscription from ELUSA.*

..... V[ERVI]/CIUS EUTYC/HES PA/TER

Findspot : This fragment was found in the ruins of Roman Elusa, during building work on the railway station, carried out in the summer of 1881. It was discovered about 25 m from the right bank of the river, embedded, amidst other débris, in a layer of black earth, probably a destruction deposit. The fragment is of white marble, height 13.5 cm (Bladé gave 13 cm), width 12 cm, with regular lettering (the height varying from 20-22 mm).

The first line has been almost completely lost as a result of the fracture, and only an incomplete V remains, but it seems clear that this V[ERVI] CIUS EUTYCHES PATER is the same person as the dedicant of the preceding inscription. Two other fragmentary inscriptions were found in the same black earth deposit, and they also may have had a Mithraic context.

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MMM, II, Inscr. 508.
CIMRM, I, 889.

6. *An altar from ELUSA.*

Findspot : The altar was discovered during the excavations of Roman Elusa but the exact location of the find is unknown. It carries the following inscription :

DEO SOLI INVICTO MITHRAE

Bibliography

RSSD, 1879, p. 326.
MMM, II, Inscr. 509.
CIMRM, I, 890.

7. *Two fragments of an inscription from ELUSA.*

DOMU[I DIVINAE CO]LONIAE ELUSATIUM / ORDIN[I SANCTISSIM(?)]O ET PLEBI OPTIMAE / PIISQU[E COLEN-

TIBUS (?) IN]VICTUM PROPITIUM / M.POM[PEIUS SACERDOS (?)] INNOCENTISSIMUS [ ][1]

Findspot : The two fragments of this inscription were found in the ruins of Elusa, during the months of June and August 1881. They were located 10 m apart in the same black earth deposit as inscription no. 5.

Together they come from a tablet of white marble, height 27.8 cm, thickness 17-18 cm, approximate length 70 cm (a middle portion is missing). The lettering (height in the first three lines 28 mm and in the last 23 mm) is framed within a border, decorated at each end with an ansate projection.

The first line has been restored with reasonable certainty as DOMU[I DIVINAE CO]LONIAE, and the second possibly read ORDIN[I SANCTISSIM]O.[2] The third line has aroused greater controversy : Allmer suggested PIIS(SIMAE) QU[E UT HABEAT DEUM IN]VICTUM; Hirschfeld, followed by Cumont, proposed PIISQU[E COLENTIBUS IN]VICTUM, i.e. *cultoribus dei invicti Mithrae*. The *cultores d(ei) s(olis) i(nvicti) Mithrae* are mentioned on an inscription from Sassoferrato (*SENTINUM*).[3] Hirschfeld suggested that in the fourth line the word *innocentissimus* was an adjective rather than a *cognomen*, and restored as follows : M.POM[PEIUS SACERDOS(?)] INNOCENTISSIMUS. This restoration was based on the assumption that a second fragmentary inscription, found in the same place, was dedicated to the same man M. POM[.....] SANCTISSIMO SA[CERDOTI]; as such it must be treated with some caution.

Dating : The formula *domus divina* occurs only rarely before the end of the second century A.D.[4] Using this inscription as evidence, Hirschfeld, followed by Pauly-Wissowa, placed the elevation of the capital of the Elusates to the status of *colonia* at the beginning of the third century.[5] He suggested that Severus Alexander was responsible for the bestowal of this honour, and noted dedications made by the Elusates to this

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[1] ? DAT or DD.

[2] A Mithraic inscription from Nesce in Italy records a dedication to the God *pro salut]e ordinis et pop[uli* : *CIMRM*, I, 648, but there are no exact parallels for the wording *ordini sanctissimo*.

[3] *CIL*, XI, 5737; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 157.

[4] R. Cagnat, p. 168.

[5] Pauly-Wissowa, V, ii, Stuttgart 1905, 2457.

Emperor and his mother.[1] The dedications need not, however, have been made for this particular favour, and although the formula of our inscription would support this date, the argument for the establishment of the *colonia* in the early third century is based on probability only.

Origin of the dedicant : The name preserved on the stone is so fragmentary that any definitive reconstruction is impossible. POM [.....] could be the initial three letters of the word Pompeius or Pomponius and the dedicant could have possessed the *tria nomina*, but the rest is conjecture.

The Mithraic context of the dedication is assumed from the reading [COLENTIBUS (?) IN]VICTUM, referring to a group of Mithraic worshippers. This deduction is very insecure and it must be pointed out that the adjective *invictus* was applied to gods other than Mithras. None the less, the fact that this inscription was found in the same place and at the same time as the dedication by a Mithraic *pater* would tend to support a Mithraic interpretation.

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CIL, XIII, 546.
MMM, II, Inscr. 510.
CIMRM, I, 891.

8. *Two fragments of an inscription from ELUSA.*

M. POM[PEIO (?)] / SANCTISSIMO SA/C(ERDOTI) C. CUPIT[IUS] / [PARA]MYTHIUS[2]

Findspot : This fragment was discovered in the same black earth deposit as the preceding inscription. It formed part of a tablet of white marble, height 43.8 cm, width 36.8 cm. The inscription, framed within a border 7.7 cm wide, was of irregular lettering : height in the first line 66 cm, in the second 32 mm (with the exception of the O 7 mm, and the C and ISSI 10 mm), and in the third and fourth, 57 and 28 mm respectively.

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[1] *CIL*, XIII, 544; 545.

[2] Villefosse reads MUTIUS; Allmer, MUTHIUS.

The M. POM[.....] to whom the inscription was dedicated could have been the same person as the dedicant of the preceding monument; the man was evidently a priest, and it may well be that he was associated with the worshippers of Mithras. Both inscriptions were found in the same black earth deposit as the dedication by a Mithraic *pater*.

Origin of the dedicant : Allmer has suggested that the name should be restored as C. CUPIT[IUS PARA]MYTHIUS.

The *cognomen*, Paramythius, is of Eastern origin, and has been classified by J.-J. Hatt amongst his group of "religious *cognomina*".[1] According to the data drawn up by J.-J. Hatt, the agents who propagated the vogue of religious *cognomina* seem to have been orientals, slaves, freedmen, and members of the corporations, principally in Gallia Narbonensis. The vogue does not appear to have spread a great deal among the soldiers along the German *limes*.[2] This would all seem to indicate that our dedicant was a freedman, probably of Eastern origin.

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CIL, XIII, 547.
MMM, II, Inscr. 510, n. 1.
CIMRM, I, 891.

9. *A tombstone from SEXTANTIO*, now in the Musée de la Société archéologique de Montpellier : see Pl. IV, kindly provided by M. Solier.

D(IS) M(ANIBUS) / P(UBLI)· ANTHI· LOGI / PATRIS SACRORUM / CORNELIA· LUCI· FIL(IA) / D(E) S(UO) P(OSUIT)

Findspot : The stone was found at Murviel-les-Montpellier, on the site of Roman Sextantio. The date and exact findspot are unknown, but early in the 18th century the stone stood in the garden of the Prefect d'Aigrefeuille at Montpellier. Of hard limestone, height 74 cm, width 47 cm, thickness 26 cm, it carries an inscription framed by a raised border.

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[1] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, p. 279.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 49-50.

Dating : Cumont has dated the inscription to the second or third century A.D. on the evidence of the poor quality lettering, but a more reliable indication of date may be gained from the abbreviated formula D.M., which appeared in South Gaul after the end of the first century A.D. Moreover, the presence of the *praenomen* would suggest a date not later than the late second century A.D., after which time *praenomina* tended to be abandoned.[1] A second century date is therefore the most probable.

Origin of the pater : The name Anthius [2] is derived from the *cognomen*, Anthus, classified by J.-J. Hatt amongst a group of religious *cognomina* whose popularity was, he claims, spread in Gaul largely through the agency of orientals, slaves, and freedmen.[3] It is striking that the *cognomen* Anthus is found elsewhere in close association with oriental cults. In the Grosskrotzenburg Mithraeum a Lucius Fabius Anthus makes a dedication to the god, at Lyon an inscription commemorating a *taurobolium* records that a priest Aelius Anthus officiated at the ceremony,[4] and a funerary inscription from the Capitoline museum records the name of a cistophorus of the temple of Bellona, L. Lartius Anthus.[5] Logus is the romanised form of a Greek word, and, in view of this, it seems probable that this Publius Anthius Logus was a freedman of East Mediterranean origin. The religious associations of his name are well in keeping with his position as head of the Mithraic community.

Sextantio was one of the old indigenous centres dependent upon the old capital of the Volcae Arecomici, the Roman town of Nemausus (Nîmes), and described by Pliny as *oppida ignobilia*.[6] Despite this unflattering comment it is evident that Sextantio was of some importance; it is mentioned in the itineraries as a rest place on the post road leading from Spain or Bordeaux to Narbonne, Nîmes and Arles and thence into

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[1] Cf. above, p. 59, n. 1.

[2] The clearly defined spacing and stop between ANTHI and LOGI suggest that the dedicant's name is P(ublius) Anthius Logus and not P(ublius) Anthilogus.

[3] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo -romaine*,Paris 1951, pp. 49; 252.

[4] *CIL*, XIII, 1754 = R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium*, Leiden 1969, p. 51, no. 129.

[5] *CIL*, VI, 2232 = C. Pietrangeli, *Musei capitolini : I monumenti dei culti orientali*, Roma 1951, p. 14, no. 16.

[6] Pliny, *Natural History*, III, IV, 37. The names of these old settlements are recorded on an inscription: *CIL*, XII, 3362.

Italy.[1] It lay, therefore, on an important route of communications and was particularly accessible to the influence of foreign religions.

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10. *An inscription from Vaison (VASIO)*, now lost.

L(UCIUS) APRONIUS / CHRYSOMAL/LUS OB GRADUM PER/SICUM / DEDICAVIT[2]

Findspot : The inscription was found in 1639, according to Suarès, in a garden near the cemetery of the old cathedral. The cathedral stands on the north side of the River Ouvèze, to the west of the remains of bath buildings, inside the Roman town. The dedication was engraved on the base of an altar but the kind of stone used is unknown.

Dating : Some internal indications of date may be gained from the name of the dedicant. The presence of the *praenomen* suggests a date not much later than the second century A.D., after which time *praenomina* tended to be abandoned.[3]

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Chrysomallus, is of Greek origin, but the *gentilicium*, Apronius, is said by Schulze to originate with a republican family from Praeneste.[4] An inscription from Lyon mentions a member of the Apronii who was a merchant from Trier, a *decurio* in his own city, and a patron of the wine merchants of Lyon. This would seem to indicate that the Apronii had connections in Gallic commerce.[5] The wines supplied by Italy and the Midi were shipped up the Saône as far as it was navigable, and thence, via the Moselle and the Seine, to the Rhine or the English Channel. Grenier has drawn attention to an interesting dynasty of merchants from Narbonne, the L. Aponii. Of the seventeen Aponii from Narbonne ten had the *praenomen* Lucius, and four had Greek *cognomina*, Antiochus, Philocalus, Philogenes and Phrastes.[1] The family had connections in various cities and a L. Aponius Cherea was an honorary *aedile*, not only of Narbonne but also of several Sicilian ports.[2] Our Apronius Chrysomallus may possibly have been a member of this family; it is interesting that Doni, one of the two earliest editors, (the other was Suarès) read the inscription as Aponius rather than Apronius. In view of his *cognomen* it seems probable that L. Ap(r)onius Chrysomallus was of Greek origin and a freedman of the Apronii or Aponii. Both families were actively engaged in commercial activity between the Mediterranean basin and the Gallic hinterland, and L. Ap(r)onius Chrysomallus was probably employed in trade on behalf of the family he had served.

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[1] Pauly-Wissowa, II A, ii, Stuttgart 1923, 2031-2.

[2] Doni (one of the two earliest editors) gives the reading APONIUS; cf. the dedication of Aponius Rogatianus in the Mithraeum at Rudchester, interesting for its equation of Apollo and Mithras : Soli/Apollini/Aniceto/[Mithrae]/Apon[i]us/Rogat[i]anus/[praef(ectus) v.s.l.m.]. E. & J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, p. 25, n. 8.

[3] Cf. above, p. 59, n. 1.

[4] W. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, pp. 110-11; *CIL*, XIV, 3063 ff.

[5] A. Allmer & P. Dissard, *Inscriptions antiques, musée de Lyon*, II, Lyon 1889, pp. 455-7.

Roman Vasio was an important commercial centre and considered by Pomponius Mela as one of the most wealthy cities of Narbonnaise Gaul.[3] Marbles were imported from the Pyrenees, the Massif Central, and Italy, pottery from La Graufesenque and Lezoux, glass from Italy, and a host of luxury articles, such as ivory, alabaster, cameos, gold and silver ware, from the more distant parts of the Empire.

L. Ap(r)onius Chrysomallus made this dedication on the important occasion of his elevation to the grade of *perses* in the Mithraic community.[4]

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[1] *CIL*, XII, 4609; 4613; 4614; 4615.

[2] A. Grenier, *Manuel*, II (2), Paris 1934, p. 531, n. 4; E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, Paris 1929, p. 172, no. 573.

[3] Pomponius Mela, *de Chorographia* ,II, 5, 75 : *urbium quas habeat opulentissimae sunt Vasio Vocontiorum, Vienna Allobrogum, Avennio Cavarum, Arecomicorum Nemausus, Tolosa Tectosagum, Secundanorum Arausio, Sextanorum Arelate, Septimanorum Beterrae.*

[4] The figure of a *perses* is depicted, together with the other six grades, in the unique series of wall paintings discovered in the S. Prisca Mithraeum : M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, pp. 156, 160, 167-8, 170; *CIMRM*, I, 480 (3).

quotes Suarès d'Aulan, *MSS.* V, 9141, f. 13, no. 11.
J. Sautel, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine, VII, Vaucluse,* Paris 1939, p. 61, no. 84.
CIL, XII, 1324.
MMM, II, Inscr. 496.
CIMRM, I, 887.

11. *A statuette from Bordeaux (BURDIGALA),* now in the Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux, Inventory no. X61 : see Pl. V, kindly provided by M. Valensi.

Findspot : The statuette is said to be of local origin, but both the exact findspot and the date of the find are unknown. Of yellowish coarse grained marble, height 36 cm, width 17 cm, thickness 13 cm, it depicts a torchbearer (Cautopates) standing cross-legged, clothed in a tunic, *anaxyrides,* and a long cloak fastened on his right shoulder, and wearing boots. The torch, which he points downwards with both hands, is pierced by a hole into which the torch flame was inserted (now lost). There is another hole by his left elbow, extending into the fold of the cloak, which may have served to pin the statuette to the main cult representation. The marble has been left fairly smooth at the back, the cloak being scarcely fashioned at all, indicating that it was intended to be seen from the front only. The head was broken off in antiquity. Most unusual for a statuette of Cautopates is the position of the torch, following the same diagonal as the left leg. Similar examples occur at Heddernheim and at Rome, but the parallel position of torch and leg is more frequently found on statues of Cautes.[1]

M. Valensi has been good enough to draw my attention to a second figure, recently acquired by the museum, Inventory no. 68.54.1 : see Pl. VI.

Findspot : M. Valensi writes as follows : *Il y a de fortes présomptions pour que le Cautes soit de provenance Aquitaine; celui-ci ayant été conservé chez une vieille famille de la région.*

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[1] *CIMRM,* II, 1085, fig. 277 (Heddernheim); I, 359, fig. 104 (Rome) : this example shows the same parallel diagonal, but in reverse.

Height 30 cm, width 20 cm, thickness 9 cm, the piece is set artifically on a black marble stand and is of a smoother, darker marble than the Cautopates statuette. The figure wears a tunic and a long cloak fastened across the centre of his chest. The cloak is fully worked at the back and three deep 'V's emphasise the folds. The head, the left arm, and the lower part of the legs are missing, but it is not impossible that the figure stood cross-legged.

M. Valensi has suggested that this statuette is a Cautes, possibly the companion of the Cautopates mentioned above, and, in support of his argument, draws attention to examples from Rome which depict Cautes standing cross-legged, his left arm resting across his chest and the right holding the upraised torch.[1] This is, however, the reverse position from that adopted by our statuette. The fingers of the right hand are stretched out and rest lightly beneath the elbow of the broken left arm. The position of the left elbow and upper part of the arm, held rigidly against the side, suggests that the arm, supported gently on the right hand, was raised so that the left hand rested underneath the chin in the traditional attitude of the Attis figure.

In view of this, it seems most probable that this statuette depicts a mourning Attis; clearly it does not form a pair with the preceding figure. Apart from the differences in dress (the fastening of the cloaks) and the fact that the second figure is completely finished at the back, the two statuettes are fashioned from different quality marbles and are of different workmanship; this is particularly noticeable in the technique employed to cut the folds of the tunic and cloak.

Given the doubtful origin of the Cautopates figure, we cannot assume with any certainty that Mithras was worshipped at Bordeaux. It is highly probable, however, that this god would have found adherents in such a cosmopolitan and important commercial centre. Bordeaux, the capital of the province of Aquitaine and point of departure for the great route from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, has yielded inscriptions recording individuals from nearly every part of the Empire.

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Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, II, p. 139, no. 1081 & fig.

R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique*, Bordeaux 1962, p. 172.

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 505, fig. 146; 585, fig. 162.

L. Valensi, 'Bordeaux capitale de l'Aquitaine, un exemple de romanisation en Gaule', *Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire cinquantenaire*, Bruxelles 1968, p. 86, no. 47; p. 87, no. 48 & figs.
CIMRM, I, 893.

12. *A damaged stele from St. Aubin*, said to have been kept in the house of Mme. Sarriau in Paris, but I received no further information.[1]

Of limestone, height 26 cm, width 18 cm, thickness 12 cm, the somewhat damaged relief depicts the rock birth of Mithras. The naked figure of the young god is portrayed stepping out of the pile of boulders on which he leans with both hands; one leg remains in the opening of the rock. Unusually the god carries no attributes. The majority of the representations of the rock birth show the head and torso of a naked youth, emerging from a rock with arms upraised, holding in his right hand a dagger and in his left a torch. Sometimes a second torch is substituted for the dagger or a sphere for the torch. When the god rises up from the rock, lifted upwards by a divine force, he usually holds his legs together in the same hieratic position as the Mithraic Kronos-Saturn [the god of Eternal Time]. This representation from St. Aubin is thus quite exceptional; the young child steps vigorously and independently out of the rocky hillside.[2] It is clearly the individual interpretation of part of the myth by a Gallo-Roman artist.

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Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 458, no. 2737 & fig.
M. J. Vermaseren, *Mnemosyne*, IV, 1951, pp. 286-7, pl. XXIII, 1.
CIMRM, I, 894, fig. 229.
Espérandieu quotes a reference to this monument in S. Reinach, *Rép. reliefs*, II, p. 480, but I could find no mention of this stone in either *Rép. reliefs* or *Rép. statuaire.*

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[1] Espérandieu has located St. Aubin in the Indre, but I know of no town of that name in this Département. There is a St. Aubin in the Jura to the south-east of Dijon, and two towns situated not far apart in the Ile et Vilaine (St. Aubin d'Aubigné and St. Aubin du Cormier). One other town of this name is situated near Dieppe, and a second near Caen. In the absence of more precise information the origin of this relief must therefore remain uncertain.

[2] Compare a scene on a relief from Stockstadt, dedicated by a *haruspex* : Esp., *Rec. Germ.*, p. 182, no. 283 & fig. = *CIMRM*, II, 1161, fig. 305.

13. *A relief from Bourg St. Andéol (near Pont St. Esprit),* still *in situ.*

Findspot : The relief is cut into a rock face on the hillside above the valley watered by the two streams, La Tourne and the Grand Goul. About 3.60 m from the rock on which the relief is sculpted the rocky soil breaks and the ground slopes down gently to the stream.[1]

Height about 2 m, width 2.08 m, the relief has suffered a great deal from the weathering of the rock. It depicts Mithras as bull-slayer in the usual attitude and attire, accompanied by the dog, serpent, scorpion, and raven. The last perches near the head of the god in the upper left-hand corner of the relief. Above the tableau, to the left and right, are the bust of Sol in *nimbus* with radiate crown (11 rays) [2] and that of Luna in a crescent.[3] At the base of the relief is an inscription, framed by a border. It originally comprised three lines, but the writing has been weathered to such an extent that any reconstruction of the text must now rely upon the often inaccurate literary sources. The first attempt at a reconstruction of the text, dating from the 17th century, drew poetic inspiration from the legend concerning the conqueror of the serpent of La Tourne.

> NUMATIUS TURNUS EQUES ROMANUS SUPERATO SERPENTE INGENTIS MAGNITUDINIS HANC ARAM DIANAE ET SOLI POSUIT

The *Dictionnaire de l'Encyclopédie* in 1765 produced a more fragmentary reading :

NU.............S.................S
LUUM...........N............TUM
T....IUI........................DSP

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[1] Cf. above, pp. 4 f.

[2] Turcan is of the opinion that an indistinct mark, visible to the right of the *nimbus*, was intended to represent a twelfth ray but it may just have been a cutter's error. R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, pp. 16-7.

[3] According to E. Thévenot, it is not a crescent but rather two horns of a bull, and one ear is that of a bull. Professor J. R. Harris is, however, inclined to suspect this information (pointing out that if Luna was thought to have horns they would in any case be cow's horns, just as, in reverse, the cow's horns of Isis-Hathor became the lunar crescent), and thinks that the "ear" may merely be part of the top-knot of Luna's hair.

But Millin, Allmer and Rouchier have all attempted more ambitious reconstructions :

> D(EO) S(OLI) INVI[CTO] MITRAE MAXS[IMUS]/ MANNI F(ILIUS) VIS[U] MON[ITUS] ET / T. MARSIUS MEM[INUS] D(E) S(UA) P(ECUNIA) P(OSUERUNT) (Millin)
>
> NUM[INI]....V..../DEUM INVICTUM / T. FUR(IUS)....V.... D(E) S(UA) P(ECUNIA) F(ECIT) (Allmer)

Allmer suggests that since the F of FUR(IUS) is inclined to the left this letter may be an A, in which case the *gentilicium* could be AUR(ELIUS).

> NUM[INI] MITHR[AE] MAXSU[MO] SOL[I] / DEUM INVICTUM / T. FUR(IUS) S[ABINUS] L(IBENS) M(ERITO) D(E) S(UA) P(ECUNIA) F(ECIT) (Rouchier)

The interpretation of the *cognomen* as Sabinus has caused the dedicant to be described as *l'helvien donateur*, but the evidence is too weak to support such an assertion. The more favoured interpretations suggest FURIUS or AURELIUS as the *gentilicium*, but the same caution must be applied here; it would be rash to speculate on the origin of this dedicant from such slender evidence.

Dating : Cumont has drawn attention to a passage from the Acts of St. Andéol who was martyred in A.D. 202 and buried in the village which bears his name. St. Andéol was seized by the emperor Septimius Severus *in vico Bergoiate* and ordered to be imprisoned : *Querite locum tenebrosum et squallidum ubi nullum lumen appareat ubique eum recludite... Tunc unus de militibus Cerecius dixit ad Caesarem : domine est in alia ripa fluvii coeptum fieri templum invictissimi Martis sub ipso est crypta constructa in qua si iubet magnitudo tua tutissime poterit iste recludi. Iubente ergo Severo ductus est homo dei et in crypta daemonibus dedita impie trusus.*[1] It may well be that Mithras and Mars were here confused and that this passage referred to the Mithraeum near Bourg St. Andéol. If so, it must have been in existence at the end of the second century A.D.

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[1] *AASS*, 1 May, 1, 38.

The Mithraic relief must originally have formed part of the back wall of a Mithraeum. Grooves, hewn out in the rock above the relief but no longer visible owing to the encroachment of vegetation, indicate that a roof at one time sheltered this cult representation. Beneath the relief and about 2.30 m above the foot of the rock is a ledge 25-30 cm wide which has the appearance of an altar table, but Turcan believes it is placed too high and is too narrow to have served this purpose.[1] All other remains of the structure have long since disappeared, but it is interesting to note that, according to Thévenot, the orientation of the rock face is such that the best conditions of visibility are realised only at the equinox.

Rouchier comments that the spring, La Tourne, was revered as a source of purification down to the Middle Ages. Recourse was made to the marvellous efficacy of the water, above all for the test of leprosy. The suspected leper was first bled and the blood then poured into a bottle, and wrapped in a sack which was lowered into the water. Two barbers of the village acted as arbiters, and if the blood, when drawn from the water, was a liquid red the man was declared clean. A test of this kind took place on 3 June 1422, and was recorded by M. Guignes Ribbon, notary of the episcopal court at Bourg St. Andéol.

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[1] R. Turcan, *op. cit.*, Leiden 1972, pp. 8-9.

14-7, pl. I.
CIL, XII, 2706.
MMM, II, 279, figs. 322-3, Inscr. 501.
CIMRM, I, 895-7.

14. *A mutilated statuette with inscription from La Bâtie-Montsaléon (MONS SELEUCUS)*, formerly in the museum at Gap (Long), now lost.

Findspot : The statuette was found in 1804, during the excavations of the Roman town of Mons Seleucus undertaken by Ladoucette. According to Héricart de Thury, it was uncovered from *les ruines d'une maison qui d'après sa construction et le grand nombre d'objets curieux qui y ont été recuellis devait appartenir à un des plus riches habitants de Mons Seleucus.* Of white marble, height 40 cm, width 45 cm, it depicted Mithras as bull-slayer, his left knee on the bull's back and his right foot pressed against the bull's right hind leg.[1] The dog, snake, and scorpion were also visible. In front of this group, according to Ladoucette, were the figures of Cautes and Cautopates. Later designs omitted these figures, and Honnorat, writing in 1882, drew attention to this discrepancy. However, de Thury, writing in 1806, saw the remains of the group and confirmed the presence of a statuette of Cautopates (the other torchbearer he described as lost). He commented that the statuette of the torchbearer was not of the same workmanship as the rest of the group, and concluded that repair work had been executed by an artist of lesser quality. The head of Mithras, his body and right leg, the heads of the bull, dog, and torchbearer had been broken off and lost.

The inscription read as follows :

> [DEO SOLI IN]VICTO M. JUL(IUS) MATERNIA/[N]US EX VOTO[2]

Dating : Some internal indications of date may be gained from the name of the dedicant, M. Julius Maternianus. The presence of the

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[1] Campbell classifies this among his type 1, subtype B tauroctones. He comments that type 1 was most widespread, especially in the Mediterranean area where Greek and Roman artistic influence was strong : L. A. Campbell, 'Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones', *Berytus* XI, 1954, pp. 11, 18, 45, no. 14; *Mithriac Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 1-2.

[2] Long read M. SUL, but the balance of opinion rests in favour of the reading M. JUL.

praenomen suggests a date not later than the second century A.D., after which time *praenomina* tended to be abandoned.[1] General archaeological evidence from the site indicates that the town had its greatest period of prosperity in the third and fourth centuries A.D. According to Ladoucette, the architectural style of most of the buildings was post Severan, and the largest number of coins came from the reign of Constantine. Certain of the works of art and inscriptions were, however, described as earlier.

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Maternianus, is found only six times in *CIL*; three of the examples come from the Pannonia-Noricum area, one is a soldier's stone (*CIL*, VI, 2821), and the remaining two come from Gallia Narbonensis.[2] Maternianus is derived from the *cognomen*, Maternus, of which there are 285 examples in *CIL* (187 from *CIL*, II, XII & XIII).[3] It seems that *cognomina* derived from terms of relationship were particularly frequent in Celtic areas.[4]

The *gentilicium*, Julius, is very common. Julius Caesar was responsible for large scale enfranchisement in this area, and this dedicant may well have been a descendant of a family originally enfranchised by Caesar. His *cognomen* suggests he came from a local citizen family.

Mons Seleucus was situated on the old pre-Roman trackway which ran from Valence on the Rhône to Gap, and thence via the valley of the River Durance to Briançon and Le Mont Genèvre.[5] It was at the Roman epoch *ad fines*, on the frontier of the Vocontii at the confluence of the Buëch and its tributary the Maraise. The Antonine Itinerary mentions Mons Seleucus as a *mansio* on the great route from Bordeaux to Jerusalem: *mutatio Vologatis inde ascenditur Gaura mons*, *mutatio Cambono mansio Monte Seleuci.*[6] It is clear, however, from the excavations that Mons Seleucus was much larger than a simple *mansio*. The excavations revealed a large complex of buildings including a *praetorium*, temple and

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[1] Cf. above, p. 59, n. 1.

[2] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, pp. 150, 304.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 303.

[4] Another inscription from Mons Seleucus was dedicated to Isis by a certain Cornelia Materna.

[5] A. Grenier, *Manuel*, IV (2), Paris 1960, p. 530; II (1), Paris 1934, p. 145.

[6] O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana, I : Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, Leipzig 1929, p. 87.

forum, and place of exercise for the cohorts. To the east of these buildings was a factory complex with workshops and houses, many of them richly decorated. The considerable traffic between Bordeaux and the Rhône valley must have made it a flourishing centre of commercial activity, and its facilities for the housing of troops indicate that it served as a resting place for the military.

In the light of this, it is not surprising to find evidence of the worship of Mithras at Mons Seleucus. The dedicant of this marble statuette, probably of local citizen family, was obviously a man of substance and, in all likelinood, a prosperous merchant engaged in entrepôt trade. Other, disputed, evidence from the same excavations may indicate that the cult also won more humble adherents in this community.

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CIL, XII, 1535.
MMM, II, 280, fig. 324, Inscr. 497.
CIMRM, I, 898-9.

15. *Fragments of pottery from MONS SELEUCUS*, now lost.

Findspot : They were found in the excavations of 1804, undertaken by Ladoucette.

The bowls, of red earthenware, bore the following inscriptions :

[G]AUDENTIUS DEO INVICTO
[....]PORIUS DEO IN[VICTO]
HECTOR DEO BONO

Hirschfeld described these as false, but Cumont thought them genuine on the grounds that they were published by Ladoucette shortly after his excavations. It seems, however, that one of the crudely scratched inscriptions was the model for a later falsification on a cup from Trier, inscribed AUDENTIUS DEO INVICTO. The forger of this inscription was unaware that the Mons Seleucus inscription was mutilated and should have read GAUDENTIUS.[1]

Our inscriptions, if genuine, are crude expressions of their religion by men of very humble background. It is uncertain what deity was being invoked; the epithet *invictus* was applied to a number of gods, but it could well be that Mithras was intended.

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CIL, XII, 5686, no. 1160.
MMM, II, Inscr. 498.
CIMRM, I, 900.

16. *A low relief from Vienne (VIENNA ALLOBROGUM)*, now in the Musée lapidaire de Vienne, Inventory no. 109 : see Pl. VII, kindly provided by M. Joannès Ruf, curator of the museum.

Findspot : The find was made in 1840, on property owned by M. Peyron to the south of the Halle Neuve (on the site of the present-day Bibliothèque). Remains of Roman buildings had already been found in this area during construction work on a new road. The relief was unearthed in two fragments, the smaller of which has since been lost, and nearby, according to Lajard, were discovered the remains of a small underground vaulted building *qui peut avoir été un Mithraeum.*[1]

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[1] S. Loeschcke, 'Mithrasdenkmäler aus Trier', *TH*, 1925, p. 331; J. Dubois, *Description des antiques faisant partie des collections de M. le Comte de Pourtalès Gorgier*, Paris 1841, p. 142, no. 877 : *vase à une anse et sur lequel est gravée l'inscription suivante :* AUDENTIUS DEO INVICTO. It had been transported to Paris from Trier.

The surviving fragment, height 78 cm, width 80 cm, thickness 16 cm, is of ochre-coloured limestone with brownish streaks caused possibly by the action of fire. According to Delorme, this stone comes from the Midi, between Valence and the Mediterranean. There were said to have been traces of red paint, but these have since disappeared.

The relief, framed by a raised border, depicts a figure with a lion's head and claw-like feet (of which the right is broken). A loincloth covers his body and he has four wings, two extending upwards from the shoulders and two descending from the level of the hips. The right hand, clasped across his chest, holds a key, while in the lowered left hand is an indistinct object which may probably be a second key. The snake, which emerges from a rock to the right-hand side of the relief coils itself three times around the god's body and then rests its head up against the lower jaw of his open mouth. The god is clearly the Mithraic Kronos or Saturn, but what makes the relief particularly noteworthy is the unusual representation of the Dioscuri. In the lower left-hand corner of the relief is a burning altar with, above it, a pedestal on which stands one of the Dioscuri, depicted full face, clothed only in a *pileus*, and holding in his lowered left hand the bridle of his horse. His upraised right hand once held a spear, of which no traces now remain. The spear may have been added in paint or possibly metal.[2] Drawings of the lost fragment of the relief depict the feet of a second figure standing between horses' hooves, thus indicating that a second Dioscurus stood to the right-hand side of the relief.

Representations of the Dioscuri in a Mithraic context are particularly rare; the only certain example, from the Oberflorstadt Mithraeum, shows them clothed in long cloak and *pileus*, holding in their right hands a lance and resting their left on a shield, but their horses are not portrayed.[3] The only other possible examples are the Walbrook relief[4] and a pair of heads on a relief from Rome, which may rather be doublets of Mithras, or Cautes and Cautopates.[1] Krüger has pointed out that in Gallia Narbonensis, where horse divinities played an important role, the Dioscuri are often depicted with their horses, and it may well be that particular local interest influenced the creation of this distinctive relief.[2]

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 901.

[2] J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London 1962, p. 151.

[3] Esp., *Rec. Germ.*, p. 43, no. 57 & fig; *CIMRM*, II, 1079.

[4] *CIMRM*, I, 816; cf. below, p. 138, n. 2.

Vienne, the old capital of the Allobroges, was evidently an entrepôt of considerable importance in Roman times. Pomponius Mela has described it as one of the most wealthy towns in Gaul,[3] and the numerous remains of potters' workshops and cloth merchants' premises indicate that it was a flourishing commercial centre. Recent excavations in the area of the old hospital have revealed the remains of bath buildings with, to the south, a temple of Cybele. To the east of this complex are the remains of the Roman *forum* and, to the west, the site on which was found the Mithraic relief. It is tempting to conjecture that a Mithraeum may have been associated in some way with the temple of Cybele, for a Mithraeum discovered at Ostia in 1867 was constructed alongside the west corner of the sanctuary of the Magna Mater, only shortly after the establishment of this sanctuary.[4]

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Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, I, p. 253, no. 340 & fig.

E. Krüger, 'Die Gallischen und die Germanischen Dioscuren', *TZ*, 1940, p. 11, no. 18, fig. 3.

E. Will, *La sculpture romaine au musée lapidaire de Vienne*, Vienne 1952, p. 55, no. 109.

R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, pp. 5, 24-8, pl. V.

MMM, II, 277(d), fig. 320.

CIMRM, I, 902, fig. 230.

17. *A number of fragments, said to have been found at Vienne*, now lost.

a) Fragment of a low relief. According to Cumont, this should have been in the Musée lapidaire, but Espérandieu looked for it in vain, and there was no record of it in the museum inventory at the time of my visit in April 1970.

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 350, fig. 98.

[2] E. Krüger, *TZ*, 1941-2, p. 23.

[3] Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia*, II, 5, 75.

[4] G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia, II : I Mitrei*, Roma 1954, pp. 87 ff.

The preserved fragment, of white marble, height 22 cm, width 21 cm, thickness 7 cm, depicted the lower left-hand corner of a relief, representing the rock birth of Mithras; the god, clothed in a tunic clasped about his waist, and wearing a cloak and Phrygian cap, emerged from a rock, holding in his left hand a knife. The other hand, which he held against his chest, was broken. To the right of the relief could be seen the remains of a tree-trunk or rock.

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R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, p. 17.
MMM, II, 278, fig. 321.
CIMRM, I, 904.

b) A stone pedestal, found in 1835. According to Delorme, it had been used as building stone in the corner of a wall.

Height 70 cm, width 40 cm, its upper part was broken but the base carried the following inscription :

DEO / CAU/TE

This may have been one of the bases on which stood the statuettes of Cautes and Cautopates.

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c) Fragments of the statuettes of the two torchbearers, found in 1835.

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CIMRM, I, 903 (3).

d) A fragment found in 1853 depicts a Phrygian cap.

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MMM, II, 277(b).
CIMRM, I, 903 (2).

18. *An inscription from Lyon (LUGDUNUM)*, now in the Musée du Louvre, Inventory no. MND 1764 : see Pl. VIII.

DEO INVICTO / MITHR(AE) / SECUNDINUS / DAT

Findspot : This monument was first mentioned by Symeoni, who wrote in 1558 that it was *murato in una casa vicina alla porta et nella medesima strada detta delle forgie* (this was the Rue des Frages in the Quartier St. Just). Subsequently, Menestrier sighted the monument on the great stairway of a house called l'hotel de Chevrières in the Place St. Jean, and, at the time of the Comte de Caylus, it was transferred to the Cabinet du Roi in Paris. The nineteenth century writers Chabouillet, Comarmond, and de Boissieu believed the monument to be lost, but Espérandieu asserted that it was in the Bibliothèque Nationale. From there it was transferred to the Louvre in 1929.

This irregularly shaped block of marble, height 36 cm, width 24 cm, thickness 8 cm, has a rough surface, on which is carved a rectangular frame containing an inscription. Beneath the inscription to the right is a snake, its head stretching upwards. The back and sides of the stone have been left unworked.

The monument has been the cause of much confusion, and its authenticity has been doubted for a number of reasons. Symeoni, describing the monument as a dedication to Aesculapius, gave the reading MITHIR instead of MITHR(AE), and produced an engraving which depicted the stone surmounted by a *testa femminile*. The figure was depicted in profile, looking towards the left, her hair drawn into a bun at the back of the neck. The monument, as seen by later writers and as now in the Louvre, bears no trace of the head, and has been read correctly as a dedication to Mithras. It has, however, been the model for a number of later imitations, one of which, in the museum at Bonn, carries the inscription DEO INVITO MITHR SECUNDINUS DAT, engraved on a bronze tablet, surmounted by a youthful head round which coils a snake.[1] Chabouillet has suggested that the marble seen by Caylus was only a copy of the original Symeoni monument, but, be this as it may, there is no reason to suppose that the Symeoni stone itself was not genuine. The fact that it was found walled into a house would seem to indicate that at some stage it had been used as building stone. This could be the explanation of the female head, placed incongruously on top of an altar dedicated to Mithras.[2] Alternatively, the head sketched by Symeoni could be a badly reproduced study of the young god, taken from a representation of the rock birth. Given the number of examples, found elsewhere, of the rock birth encircled by a snake, it is very probable that this stone was originally part of another such representation.[3]

Origin of the dedicant: The evidence from the single name, Secundinus, gives little indication of the dedicant's origin; this was one of a very popular group of *cognomina*.[4] It was, however, found rarely among slaves and freedmen. The Quartier St. Just was the military quarter of Lyon and, if we may suppose that the stone was not removed far from its original site, it may well be that this Secundinus was a soldier, serving perhaps with the urban cohort which guarded the mint. A second inscription, found in the same area, may also have had Mithraic significance.

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[1] This monument is quoted by E. Maionica, 'Mithras Felsengeburt', *AEMO*, II, 1878, p. 42, no. XIV, n. 31.

[2] Cf. the somewhat similar (false) placing of a female head on top of a rock in a group of Mithras *tauroctonos* from Rome : *CIMRM*, I, 557, fig. 160.

[3] There are sixteen instances of the rock birth encircled by a snake, plus three probable fragments : *CIMRM*, II, 1240; 1343; 1410; 1492; 1530; 1651; 1669; 1687; 1716; 1756; 1930; 1949; 1991; 1994; 2134; 2151 (plus 1171; 1346; 2110).

[4] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, p. 292. There are 382 examples of men in *CIL* and 266 examples of women.

Le Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, III, Paris 1759, pp. 345 ff., pl. XCIV, 2.
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P. Wuilleumier, *Lyon ,métropole des Gaules*, Paris 1953, p. 89, n. 24.
R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, pp. 4, 18-9, pl. VII.
CIL, XIII, 1772.
MMM, 276, fig. 319, Inscr. 492.
CIMRM, I, 906-7.

19. *A bronze plaque from Lyon*, now lost.

Findspot : Paradin, quoted by Chabouillet, claimed that the bronze plaque was found in a sepulchre at St. Just *ès fondemens d'une maison privée qu'on bâtissoit*; it was given to M. le Président de Dauphiné-Bellièvre by the Chanoine Bulliod. The plaque was subsequently seen in the house of the Chevalier Claude Court, but Comarmond, writing in the 19th century, could find no trace of it.

Engraved in gilt letters on the small plaque was the following inscription :

> DEO INVICTO / AUR(ELIUS) SECUNDI/NIUS DONATUS/ FRUMENTAR(IUS)[LE]G(IONIS) ET COMMENT(ARIENSIS) / V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO)[1]

Dating : Some internal indications of date may be gained from the name of the dedicant, Aurelius Secundinius Donatus. The use of gentile names as *praenomina* occurred above all in the later Empire, and from the 2nd century A.D. onwards such names as Aelius, Aurelius, Ulpius and Flavius are found as *praenomina.*[1]

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[1] According to Spon and Menestrier the text should have read FRUMENTAR(IUS) C(ENTENARIUS). This reading was followed by Cumont, but Paradin read LE[G](IONIS). R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, p. 40, suggests that since the legion is always named and numbered, [LE]G(IONIS) should read [LE]G(ATI), i.e. the dedicant belonged to the *officium* of the legate.

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Donatus, seems to have been particularly frequent in African epigraphy; it may have been the Latin equivalent of a Punic name.[2]

The *gentilicium*, Secundinius, is one of a group of names with endings in *-inius* which were particularly popular in the Rhineland. Amongst the Treveri, the Secundus group supersedes even the Julii in popularity, owing largely to the important merchant dynasty of Secundinii commemorated on the Igel monument.[3] Amongst the civilian names of the Ubii, there are twice as many *-inius* formations as those in *inus*, (*-inus* : 81 examples; *-inius* : 141 examples), and this indicates a wide acceptance of the type among the local population. Three examples of this type have been found on soldiers' stones from Lyon, the mother of a Traianensis, a veteran of the 30th legion, and this *frumentarius*, Aurelius Secundinius Donatus.[4] In view of his *gentilicium*, Secundinius, it seems probable that he came from a family of Celtic origin and was a local recruit to one of the Rhine legions. The inscription indicates that he was a *frumentarius.* These were, in principle, agents attached to the legions and charged with the buying and transporting of provisions: they were also used as secret police. Moreover, he was employed as a *commentariensis*, probably in the *officium* of the provincial governor. The only troops stationed in Lyon were an urban cohort, bearing the number XIII, which guarded the imperial mint, but, as the residence of the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, the city also housed the governor's staff which included three *commentarienses.*[5]

The inscription does not mention Mithras by name, but, in view of the fact that his cult was widely established amongst soldiers of the Rhine legions, it is quite likely that this *deus invictus* was synonymous with Mithras, and it may not be without significance that this inscription was found in the same quarter, St. Just, as the preceding monument.

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[1] R. Cagnat, p. 48.

[2] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, pp. 18, 76, 298. Of 832 examples in *CIL*, 368 come from Africa.

[3] J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln 1968, pp. 125-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 356; 392-3.

[5] H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*, Oxford 1928, pp. 120, 207.

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CIL, XIII, 1771.
MMM, II. Inscr. 493.
CIMRM, I, 908.

20. *An altar from Vieu-en-Val-Romey (VENETONIMAGUS),* said to have been at one time in the possession of Desjardins, but I could gather no further information.

Findspot : The two fragments of the altar were found in the presumed remains of a Mithraeum, discovered in 1869 during excavations in the churchyard behind the choir of the church at Vieu.[1]

Height 80 cm, width 24 cm, one of its faces carried the following inscription, the first line of which was engraved on the border of the cornice :

> DEI I(NVICTI) M(ITHRAE) / PATRI PATRU/M G. RU [F(IO)] / EUTACTO / C. R(UFIUS) VIRI/LIS FIL(IUS)

Dating : Evidence from coins, found in a gutter running from the sanctuary, has revealed types of Claudius Gothicus with *Consecratio* on the reverse. He reigned from A.D. 269-70 and, according to Mattingly and Sydenham, was regarded as a popular hero in Gaul even though he never ruled there. It seems probable that the irregular Gallic pieces, bearing on the obverse *Divo Claudio* or *Imp. Claudius P. Aug* and on the reverse *Consecratio*, were struck after his death.[1] This would seem to indicate late third century occupation, but the inscription may be earlier; the presence of the *praenomen* would certainly suggest a date earlier than the third century A.D., after which time *praenomina* were often abandoned.

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[1] Cf. above, pp. 5 ff.

Origin of the pater : His *cognomen*, Eutactus, is of Greek origin, and is one of the religious names listed by J.-J. Hatt. According to Hatt, the vogue of religious names penetrated into Gaul largely through the medium of slaves, orientals, freedmen, and members of the corporations.[2] A break in the stone has partially obliterated the *gentilicium*, but we know from a second inscription that this name was Rufius, derived from the popular *cognomen* Rufus. There are 1482 examples in *CIL*, of which only 25 are slaves or freedmen. Kajanto has suggested that because Rufus was one of the most ancient and venerated *cognomina* of the Roman nobility it was not often given to slaves.[3] In view of his *cognomen*, it may well that be G. Rufius Eutactus was a romanised Greek, a supposition supported by our knowledge from a second inscription that his profession was *medicus*.

> D(IS) M(ANIBUS) / CAESIC/CIAE JANU/ARIE / VIVA / SIBI / FECIT / ET S(UB) A(SCIA?) D(EDICAVIT)
>
> D(IS) M(ANIBUS) / G.RUF(II) / EUTACTI MEDI/CI CAE/ SICCIA / JANUA/RIA MA/RITO SUO / PONEND(UM) C(URAVIT)[4]

Both inscriptions were engraved on a stone sepulchre, found in 1840 during excavations of the churchyard at Vieu. The stone stood for some time in the garden of a local inhabitant, was then sold to a purchaser in Belley, and later recovered. The stone was divided into two compartments, each containing an inscription, framed in a raised border and surmounted by a triangular pediment containing, on the left, a representation of the moon crescent and, on the right, a small disc which, we may suppose, represented the sun.[1] Beneath the inscription on the left-hand side was depicted the symbol of the *ascia*. J.-J. Hatt has noted that this symbol and the rite of *dedicatio sub ascia* were more widely spread in Gaul than in any other part of the Empire, and were found, particularly in Gallia Narbonensis, amongst the devotees of oriental cults; these dedicants often had religious *cognomina*.[2] It is not, therefore, surprising to find a *dedicatio sub ascia* on the sepulchre of Caesiccia Januaria, the wife of a Mithraic *pater*. Her name suggests that she may well have been of local origin; Caesiccia is a most unusual compound of the popular stem *caes-* with an obviously non-Roman suffix *-iccia*. Their son G. Rufius Virilis certainly had a *cognomen* of Celtic origin.[3]

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[1] H. Mattingly & E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, i, London 1927, pp. 202, 233, no. 256.

[2] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, p. 49.

[3] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, pp. 27, 30, 65.

[4] *CIL*, XIII, 2509; T. Desjardins, *Notice sur les antiquités du village de Vieu-en-Val-Romey (Ain)*, Lyon 1869, p. 16; A. Allmer, *Inscriptions de Vienne*, III, p. 390, no. 700; *RSSD*, 1870, p. 89.

It seems probable, therefore, that G. Rufius Eutactus was a doctor of Greek origin, who married into a local family and established his practice in Venetonimagus. As *pater*, he was leader of the Mithraic community, and if, as is possible, there was a local association of Mithras with Apollo as healer,[4] he may well have combined the duties of priest and doctor, encouraging the local people to come to the sanctuary of his god to seek a cure for their ailments.

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CIL, XIII, 2540.
MMM, II, Inscr. 494.
CIMRM, I, 911.

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[1] A similar stone with the same symbols, but uninscribed, was dragged from the canal at Vieu.

[2] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, pp. 101-4.

[3] Cf. the Celtic name Virillus. Of thirty examples in *CIL*, twenty come from the provinces of Gaul : I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, p. 257; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, Oxford 1967, pp. 287, 477.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 47 f.

21. *An altar from Vieu-en-Val-Romey,* now said to be at Belley, but I could gather no further information.

Findspot : The altar was found in 1840, during excavations in the churchyard at Vieu, which revealed the foundations of a building, situated partially beneath the present-day church. Height 70 cm, width 39 cm, it carried the following inscription :

> NUM(INI) AUG(USTORUM) / DEO SOLI / PRO SALUT[E] / C. AMANDI BILLI/CATIDOS [....]/ ET AMAND(I) MAIORIS FIL(II) EIU[S] / VICANI VEN/ETONIMAGE[NS]ES OB MER[ITA EORUM?] [1]

Dating : The presence of a *praenomen* would suggest a date not later than the second century A.D., after which time *praenomina* tended to be abandoned.

Origin of the father and son to whom the dedication was made : The *cognomen,* Billicatidos, is of Gaulish origin.[2] It is interesting to note that a Billicatus was a samian ware potter of La Graufesenque during the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, and that his work was spread out particularly in the Vienne-Vaison area, not far from Vieu.[3]

The *gentilicium,* Amandus, seems to have been popular among the Mediomatrici; it appears 16th in the list of their most common names.[4] In view of his *cognomen,* it seems quite probable that C. Amandus Billicatidos was a romanised Gaul; he gave his son the Latin *cognomen,* Maior.

The dedication does not mention the god Mithras by name, but, in view of the fact that this inscription was found at the same time and in the same place as the sepulchral inscription commemorating a Mithraic *pater,* it is tempting to assume that in this case the Sun God was the equivalent of Mithras. If so, it is striking that a number of local inhabitants, the *Vicani Venetonimagenses*, should have involved themselves in the worship of an oriental god.

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[1] Thévenot suggests OB MER[ITA POSUERUNT?].

[2] D. Ellis-Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names,* Oxford 1967, pp. 149-50.

[3] F. Oswald, *Index of Potters Stamps on Terra Sigillata Samian Ware,* East Bridgford 1931, p. 42.

[4] J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier,* Köln 1968, p. 126.

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CIL, XIII, 2541.
MMM, II, Inscr. 495.
CIMRM, I, 914.

22. *Statue from Les Bolards, Nuits-Saint Georges*, now in the Musée archéologique de Dijon, Inventory no. 953.6 : see Pl. IX.

Findspot : The statue was found inside the Mithraeum excavated on a site to the south-east of Nuits-Saint Georges,[1] about 3 km to the west of the Roman road which linked Lyon with Trier and Cologne. It was lying in the *vestibulum*, 2 to 3 m from the stairway, a distance which corresponds to the entrance to the nave.

Of local limestone from the Carrière Poret, height 83 cm, width 34 cm, thickness 10 cm, it depicts a torchbearer (Cautes), clothed in a tunic, short cloak, and boots, and wearing a Phrygian cap. The figure stands upright, legs uncrossed, holding with both hands his upraised torch. Behind his left foot is a globe encircled by a horizontal band from which radiate a series of spikes. The representation of the globe, an attribute of the sun, at the foot of a torchbearer is rare. It appears on a relief from Sarrebourg, which depicts Cautes, standing upright on a sphere marked with spikes, and on an altar from Heddernheim, where the figure of Cautes is accompanied by an inscription C(A)ELUM and the representation of an eagle clasping a thunderbolt above a globe dotted with stars and cut by two meridians.[2] Campbell suggests that the statue from

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[1] Cf. above, p. 11 ff. For this and the four following Nos. see also p. 163.

[2] Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VI, p. 28, no. 4563 & figs.; Esp., *Rec. Germ.*, p. 104, no. 157.

Les Bolards indicates the association of Cautes with cosmic fire, revealed in the thunderbolt and planetary sky.[1]

The stone has been left unworked at the back, indicating that it was intended to be seen from the front only; it stood most probably against the front of one of the side benches. On the base of the statue is an inscription :

L(IBENS) L(AETUS) ANTTIOCUS D(E) S(UO) D(EDIT)

Dating : Thévenot has dated the inscription to the late Empire on the evidence of the poor quality of the lettering. Coin evidence from the Mithraeum reveals a series commencing with Commodus and continuing until the end of the fourth century A.D., which would place the life of the Mithraeum broadly within the third and fourth centuries. The most that can be said is that the statue was set up sometime within this period.

Origin of the dedicant : The name Anttiocus is of East Mediterranean, possibly Syrian, origin, the illiterate spelling (two Ts instead of one) probably indicating a mistake by the carver.

The site at Les Bolards has produced evidence of commercial and industrial activity grouped around an indigenous sanctuary area. It lay near the border between the Lingones and Aedui, and only 3 km to the west of the most frequented road in Roman Gaul. It is thus not surprising to find the cult of Mithras established near such an important route of communication.

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E. Thévenot, 'La station antique des Bolards à Nuits-Saint-Georges', *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 303, fig. 6, pp. 308, 318, no. 38, p. 327, no. 15a.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 95, no. 9064, pl. LXXVI.
H.-P. Eydoux, *La France antique*, Paris 1962, p. 287, fig. 341.
S. Deyts, *RAEst*, XIII, 1971, p. 370, n. 36.
CIMRM, I, 918-9, fig. 231.

23. *The remains of a second statue from Les Bolards*, formerly part of the collection Vacherot at Nuits-Saint Georges, whereabouts now unknown.

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[1] L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, p. 41.

Findspot : The fragments were found near the statue of Cautes. Sculpted from the same limestone as the preceding statue, and measuring together 15 cm, they comprise the left thigh and part of the tunic of a figure. The proportions are identical with those of the Cautes statue, and it seems reasonable to assume that the fragments come from a figure of Cautopates, whose statue would have stood on the opposite side of the nave. The position of the two torchbearers is confirmed by examples from other Mithraea. In the S. Prisca Mithraeum the niches for the statues of the torchbearers were set at the end of the two side benches, immediately within the entrance, and at Carnuntum, in Mithraeum III, the statues of Cautes and Cautopates were found by the entrance to the *cella*, on the right and left hand respectively as one faced the cult relief.[1] At Carrawburgh, Oberflorstadt, and Poetovio, statues of the torchbearers were found in a similar position.[2] The fact that both the statues of Cautes and Cautopates at Les Bolards were left unfinished at the back would seem to indicate that they were intended to be seen from the front only and probably stood against the side benches.

Bibliography

E. Thévenot, *Gallia* VI (2), 1948, pp. 308, 318, no. 39, p. 303, fig. 7.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 96, no. 9065, pl. LXXVI.
CIMRM, I, 920.

24. *Statue from Les Bolards*, now in the Musée archéologique de Dijon, Inventory no. 953.7 : see Pl. X.

Findspot : The statue was found near the entrance to the nave of the Mithraeum, close to the statues of the two torchbearers. Of the same local limestone as the preceding figures, height 44 cm, width 53 cm, thickness 21 cm, it depicts a lion lying on a flat plinth, holding between his front paws an overturned urn from which water flows. The sculpture is finished on all sides, and traces of the sculptor's chisel are visible on the stone.

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[1] M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, p. 133, pls. XI, 1, XXIII, 1-2; *CIMRM*, II, 1682, fig. 429.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 844, fig. 223; II, 1074, fig. 271; 1487, fig. 378.

The lion, as guardian of the *krater*, appears regularly on reliefs of Mithras *tauroctonos*, as at Sarrebourg, Heddernheim, Vibbel and Osterburken,[1] and, more rarely, as a separate statue. At Heddernheim, in Mithraea I and II, there is one statue of a lion in an attacking position and another of a lion lying on a plinth; the latter has an opening running from its mouth through its body and into the base of the statue.[2] Fragments of two stone lions have been found at Königshoffen, each holding a boar's head beneath their forepaws. They were painted red on a white background, and cut in such a way that they were obviously intended to be seen from one side only. Espérandieu comments that they stood probably on either side of the main cult relief.[3] At Carnuntum, a statue of a lion has been found, lying with a bull's head between its forepaws. It also was coloured red and, to judge from the opening at the back of its head, probably served as a fountain.[4] Another statue of a lion holding a bull's head between its forepaws was found near the entrance of Mithraeum I at Carnuntum.[5] This position corresponds exactly to the spot where the statue from Les Bolards was found.

The representation of a lion with a flowing urn between its paws is quite exceptional. A statuette from Brumath shows a lion with an urn placed upright against his side, but the example from Les Bolards is unique of its kind.[6] E. Will gives the association between lion and *krater* ritual significance, and produces as evidence the relief on the inside of a dish from Trier where the lion, *krater*, and serpent group is depicted beneath the representation of the banquet scene.[7] They represent three of the four elements, fire, water and earth. The lion and *krater* seem to have been associated with initiation rites; Porphyry draws attention to the significance of the *krater* in the Mithraic cult "since honey is then taken as a symbol of purification ... it is well suited to water nymphs to symbolise the uncorrupted nature of the waters over which they preside, the purificatory powers of these waters and their co-operation in genesis; for water co-operates in the process of genesis. For this reason it is in the *kraters* and *amphorae* that bees store honey; *kraters* convey the symbol of springs, just as the *krater* is set beside Mithras in place of a spring : and the *amphorae* are symbols of the vessels in which we draw water from springs".[1]

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 966; II, 1083; 1118; 1292.

[2] *CIMRM*, II, 1093; 1112.

[3] Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VII, p. 170, no. 5539 & fig.; *CIMRM*, II, 1336; R. Forrer, *Das Mithra-Heiligtum von Königshofen bei Strassburg*, Stuttgart 1915, pp. 40 f., pl. XIII, 1-3; J.-J. Hatt, *Strasbourg, Musée archéologique, sculptures antiques régionales*, Paris 1964, figs. 30-1.

[4] *CIMRM*, II, 1667, fig. 425; *MMM*, II, 225(h).

[5] *CIMRM*, II, 1690, fig. 437; *MMM*, II, 228 bis(h), fig. 438.

[6] E. Thévenot, *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 308, n. 3; Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VII, p. 173, no. 5542 & fig.

[7] E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, pp. 404 f.; M. J. Vermaseren, *Mnemosyne*, IV, 1951, p. 289, n. 8.

Bibliography

E. Thévenot, *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, pp. 308, 318, n. 40, p. 303, fig. 9.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 96, no. 9069, pl. LXXVI.
S. Deyts, *RAEst*, XXII, 1971, p. 370, n. 36.
CIMRM, I, 921, fig. 232.

25. *A number of fragments, detached from a high relief*, now in the Musée archéologique de Dijon.

Findspot : All the fragments come from the excavations of the Mithraeum at Les Bolards.

They are of the same local limestone as the preceding statues :

a) The head of a monster, Inventory no. 953.14 : see Pl. XI, kindly provided by the museum. This fragment, height 9 cm, depicts the head of a monster, turned to the left. There is a break at the back of the head and about halfway down the neck, indicating that it has been detached from a relief. The top of the head ends in a crested comb, the eyes are placed very high up and the half opened mouth reveals the tip of the tongue.

Bibliography

E. Thévenot, *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 318, no. 41, p. 307, fig. 11.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 96, no. 9070, pl. LXXVI.
S. Deyts, *RAEst*, XXII, 1971, p. 370, n. 37.

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[1] Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, 17.

b) Two heads, Inventory nos. 953.9, 953.10.

The fragments, height 10.8 cm and 12.5 cm, depict the heads of two youths, each wearing a Phrygian cap. Their hair is arranged in little thick curls, each detached from the next. The eyes are only faintly delineated beneath heavily creased eyebrows; the nose is strong and the chin square. The whole gives the impression of strength and sadness, the *regard douleureux*.

Bibliography

E. Thévenot, *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, pp. 308, 318, no. 41, p. 307, fig. 11.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 96, no. 9066, pl. LXXVI.
S. Deyts, *RAEst*, XIII, 1971, p. 370, n. 37, pl. XIII, 1.
CIMRM, I, 922.

c) A woman's head, Inventory no. 953.11.

Height 10 cm, width 7 cm, the head is turned to the left and broken off at the neck. The eyes are sunken and the mouth small. Her hair is arranged in long strands, dressed in a chignon, and she wears a diadem, girded with leaves, possibly Luna.

Bibliography

E. Thévenot, *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 318, no. 41, p. 307, fig. 11.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 96, no. 9067, pl. LXXVI.
S. Deyts, *RAEst*, XXII, 1971, p. 370, n. 37.
CIMRM, I, 923.

d) A head, Inventory no. 953.12.

This fragment, height 15 cm, depicts the bust of Sol with radiate crown, and the position of the figure indicates that he was not standing in glory but driving his chariot.

Bibliography

E. Thévenot, *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, p. 318, no. 42, p. 303, fig. 8.
S. Deyts, *RAEst*, XXII, 1971, p. 370, n. 37.

e) The foot and hoof of a bull, height 15 cm, and the mouth and jaw of a dog. These were said to be in the Archaeological Museum at Dijon, but were not there when I visited the museum in March 1970.

Bibliography

E. Thévenot, *Gallia*, VI (2), 1948, pp. 308, 318, no. 43.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XV, p. 97, no. 9071, pl. LXXVI.
CIMRM, I, 922.

Thévenot has suggested that all these fragments may have been detached from the main cult relief of the bull-slaying scene. Only e) and perhaps b) are specifically Mithraic, but the two small female heads are reminiscent of finds made in the Sarrebourg Mithraeum (No. 38,e). The fragment of a cock-headed figure is most unusual and of particular interest since a cock is known to have been associated with the raven, scorpion, snake and bull in a Mithraic context; it is depicted on the mosaic floor of the Mithraeum of the Animals at Ostia and appears above the figure of Cautopates on the syncretistic Mithras-Jupiter Dolichenus relief from Rome,[1] and also with Cautes in the Mithraea at S. Maria Capua Vetere and S. Prisca.[2] Moreover, the cock-headed deity with serpent legs has been found on the reverse of a Mithraic amulet which on the obverse has a representation of the bull-slaying scene.[3]

25 bis. *A small head, detached from a high relief.*

Findspot : The head was found in 1965, during the excavations by Dr. E. Planson, about 100 m from the Mithraeum. With it were unearthed a large number of animal bones, probably the remains of sacrifices. Height 12 cm, width 9 cm, it depicts the head of a youth, wearing a Phrygian cap. The style of the sculpture closely resembles that of the two small heads (No. 25, b).

Bibliography

S. Deyts, *RAEst*, XXII, 1971, p. 370, n. 38, pl. XIII, 2.

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[1] L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, p. 16, fig. 4; p. 22; *CIMRM*, I, 279; 334, fig. 91.

[2] M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I : The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere*, Leiden 1971, pp. 18-9, pl. XVI; M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, p. 133, cat. W 19, pl. LXXVI; cf. below, p. 120.

[3] R. Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, Ann Arbor 1950, pp. 34, 264, no. 68, pl. IV, no. 68; *CIMRM*, II, 2364, fig. 658.

26. *The base of a statue from Entrains (INTARANUM)*, said to have been in the collection of Mme. Sarriau in Paris, but I could gather no further information.

Findspot : The fragment was found on the bed of the River Nohain at Entrains, during building operations on the railway. Of local soft stone, height 17 cm, width 16 cm, thickness 18 cm, it comprises the base of a statue, of which only the feet are now discernible. To the right is a small rectangular box decorated with a band, and, on the base, the remains of an inscription :

> [AU]G(USTO) SACR(UM) DEO / [INVI]CTO MYT(HRAE)[1] S(OLI) / [....]STOR

Origin of the dedicant : All that remains of the dedicant's name are the letters ...STOR at the end of line three, but the full inscription could well have accommodated more than one name. Villefosse has suggested that these letters might have belonged to a *cognomen*, [Ne]stor or [Ca]stor, and J.-J. Hatt, restoring the dedicant's name as [Ca]stor, has commented that this was one of the religious names, the vogue of which was brought into Gaul chiefly by orientals, slaves, and freedmen.[2] Both names are, however, also known from Potters' stamps in Gaul, Nestor from the La Graufesenque workshops in the period Nero-Vespasian, and Castor from the Rheinzabern in the Antonine period.[3] It seems, therefore, that although the vogue of religious names may have been spread through the agency of slaves and freedmen of oriental origin, it won adherents among the indigenous population. Even if the reading [Ca]stor is permitted to stand, we can, therefore, make no firm assertion with regard to the dedicant's origin.

It seems clear, despite the fragmentary state of the inscription, that this was a dedication to Mithras. The spelling, Mythras or Mytras, is known from a number of examples elsewhere.[4]

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[1] Or possibly MYT(RAE).

[2] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, pp. 49, 256.

[3] F. Oswald, *Index of Potters Stamps on Terra Sigillata Samian Ware*, East Bridgford 1931, p. 218, Suppl. p. 410; p. 65.

[4] Mythras : *CIMRM*, I, 17; 170; 927 (Nuits-Saint-Georges); II, 138c; 1243; 1438; 1790; 1830; 1841; 1917; 1927; 1939; 1943; 1945; 1962; 2183. Mytras : *CIMRM*, I, 149; 566; 841; 843 (probably); 863; 864; II, 1151; 1303; 1367; 1997.

Entrains, situated 30 km to the north-east of Mesves, at the frontier of the territory of the Aedui and Senones, lay along the road from Auxerre to Bourges, a factor which makes it possible to understand how this ancient sanctuary received so much Roman influence. Situated on marshland in the midst of streams, to the east the Saint Cyr and to the west the Trélong, which form the River Nohain, it was an important sanctuary for the cult of water divinities. The eponymous divinity was Borvo, here conflated with Apollo, to whom a colossal statue was erected.[1] A number of *ex votos* of eyes, found on the site, indicate that recourse was made to the sanctuary for the healing of eye diseases. It is evident that the sanctuary attracted a number of gods, not only the Celtic divinities such as the Mother Goddesses and Epona, but also Roman gods, including Aesculapius, Jupiter, and Hercules.

This inscription, together with the evidence of a number of fragments of reliefs depicting the bull-slaying scene, seems to suggest that, although no structural remains of a Mithraeum have been found, the cult of Mithras was well established at Entrains.

Bibliography

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P. Rodet, *Le culte des sources thermales à l'époque gallo-romaine*, Paris 1908, p. 24.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 259, no. 2274 & fig.
E. Thévenot, 'Le culte de Mithra chez les Eduens et leurs voisins', *Annales de Bourgogne*, XXI, 1949, p. 248, n. 1.
CIL, XIII, 2906.
CIMRM, I, 940-1.

27. *Fragment of a relief from Entrains*, formerly in the collection Delimoges at Entrains, and now in the Musée des antiquités nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye, Inventory no. 70062 : see Pl. XII, kindly provided by Mlle. Catherine Metzger, curator of the museum.

Findspot : This fragment and the succeeding items, 28-34, were found within a short distance of each other, on the bed of the river at Entrains, 200 m to the south-west of the point where the Route Nationale from Neuvy-sur-Loire to Clamecy crosses the railway line.

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[1] *CIL*, XIII, 2901. Statue of Apollo : Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 247, no. 2243 & fig.

Of local soft stone, height 37 cm, width 36 cm, thickness 17 cm, and broken at the top, it depicts Sol in a chariot drawn by four bridle-less horses. The god, dressed in a cloak clasped on his right shoulder, has his right hand clenched; it probably held a whip, now lost. To the right of the relief is the clothed bust of a figure, probably Luna, and to the left a pedestal or altar on which stand the legs of a bird (raven or cock?). On the rocky ground in front of the chariot stands a *krater*, to which a snake, rising from the rock, turns its head. The presence of the *krater* and snake, symbols used frequently in Mithraic iconography, together with the context of the find, suggests that this relief had a Mithraic connotation.

Bibliography

E. Espérandieu, *BSAF*, 1904, p. 290 & fig.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 258, no. 2273 & fig.
B. Devauges, *Entrains gallo-romain* (doctoral thesis), Dijon 1970, pp. 165-6, cat. no. 38.
CIMRM, I, 942, fig. 233.

28. *Fragment of a relief from Entrains*, formerly part of the collection Delimoges, now in the Musée des antiquités nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye, Inventory no. 70064 : see Pl. XIII, kindly provided by Mlle. Catherine Metzger.

Of coarse siliceous stone, height 32 cm, width 30 cm, thickness 16 cm, it depicts Mithras as bull-slayer in the usual attitude and attire.[1] Round, his waist is a belt, from which hangs the sheath of his dagger. One rather individual feature is the unusually detailed representation of the dog, with thick curly hair and a collar round its neck, which stretches out to lick the blood from the wound. The other creatures, snake, scorpion, and raven, are lost, as are the head of the god, his right hand and foot, and the hind parts of the bull and dog.

The stone is somewhat corroded, but the attention to detail indicates that this was a fine representation of its kind.

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[1] According to L. A. Campbell's typology of the *tauroctonos* reliefs, based upon the exact position and attitude of the various figures, this is type 1, subtype DE (a subtype he finds also at Bourg St. Andéol and on a number of German *tauroctonos* reliefs) : L. A. Campbell, 'Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones', *Berytus*, XI, 1954, p. 49, no. 186; *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 1, 3.

Bibliography

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 261, no. 2277 & fig.
B. Devauges, *Entrains gallo-romain* (doctoral thesis), Dijon 1970, p. 165.
CIMRM, I, 943, fig. 234.

29. *The upper left-hand corner of a relief from Entrains*, formerly in the collection Delimoges, now in the Musée des antiquités nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye, Inventory no. 70063 : see Pl. XIV, kindly provided by Mlle. Catherine Metzger.

Of fine grained stone, height 31 cm, width 35 cm, thickness 3 cm, it depicts the upper left-hand corner of a relief of the bull-slaying scene, framed by a narrow raised border. To the left is a representation of Sol with thick curly hair, his face sadly mutilated, and between Sol and Mithras can be seen the tip of the bull's tail. A large raven perches behind the flying cloak of Mithras, noteworthy for the particular attention given to the detail of the feathers. The head and greater part of the legs and arms of the god are lost, but the care applied to the detail of the tunic and cloak gives an impression of fine workmanship. This relief has worn much better than the preceding fragment, and seems to have been worked in a harder material.

Bibliography

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 260, no. 2275 & fig.
B. Devauges, *Entrains gallo-romain* (doctoral thesis), Dijon 1970, p. 165.
CIMRM, I, 945.

30. *Fragment of a limestone relief from Entrains.* According to the catalogue in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye, this fragment was transported to the United States, but I could gather no further information.

Of fine grained limestone, height 30 cm, width 40 cm, thickness 9 cm, it depicts Mithras as bull-slayer, his right foot pressed against the bull's rump and his left knee on the neck of his victim.[1] The remainder of the god is lost, as are the scorpion and the snake (of which only the tail is visible). A dog, with close-cropped hair, jumps up to lick the blood from the wound, but best preserved is the bull itself with a belt round its body, represented in such a way that its genitalia are clearly visible. The sculptor seems to have paid great attention to detail, for example in the careful representation of the dog's teeth, and the reports mention traces of polychromy, indicating that the relief was originally painted.

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[1] According to L. A. Campbell's typography of *tauroctonos* reliefs, this is type I, subtype E, examples of which occur in Syria, Rome and Germany : L. A. Campbell, 'Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones' *Berytus*, XI, 1954, p. 49, no. 187 ;*Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 1, 3.

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Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 262, no. 2279 & fig.
B. Devauges, *Entrains gallo-romain* (doctoral thesis), Dijon 1970, p. 165.
CIMRM, I, 948.

31. *Three fragments from Entrains*, possibly detached from the same relief. They are said to have been in the collection Delimoges, but their whereabouts is now uncertain; they were not in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye at the time of my visit in April 1970.

Together, the three fragments, all of the same local stone, depict part of the bull-slaying scene.

a) A fragment, height 23 cm, width 29 cm, thickness 12 cm, comprising the lower right-hand corner of a relief. All that remains are the scorpion, the right foot of Mithras, which he presses down on the hind leg of the bull, and another foot, beside that of Mithras, which may belong to a torchbearer.

b) A fragment of relief, height 22 cm, width 21 cm, thickness 13 cm, depicting the head of Mithras in Phrygian cap, and the remains of the flying cloak.

c) A fragment, height 15 cm, width 24 cm, thickness 13 cm, depicting the arched end of the flying cloak, and an ear which comes from the bull's tail.

Bibliography

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 261, no. 2278 & fig.; p. 260, no. 2276 & fig.; p. 264, no. 2287 & fig.
B. Devauges, *Entrains gallo-romain* (doctoral thesis), Dijon 1970, p. 165, cat. nos. 28-30.
CIMRM, I, 944; 946; 947.

32. *Fragment of a relief from Entrains*, now in the museum at Clamecy.[1]

Of local stone, height 20 cm, width 27 cm, thickness 13 cm, it comprises the upper left-hand corner of a relief, surrounded by a raised border and representing the bull-slaying scene. Preserved are, to the left, the head of Sol with thick curly hair, his head crowned by seven rays, and, to the right, a large raven, its head lost.

Bibliography

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XIII (suppl.), p. 47, no. 8279, pl. LIV.
B. Devauges, *Entrains gallo-romain* (doctoral thesis), Dijon 1970, p. 165, cat. no. 35.
CIMRM, I, 950 (2).

33. *Fragment of a relief from Entrains*, whereabouts now unknown.[2]

Of local stone, height 27 cm, width 22 cm, thickness 14 cm, it comprises the upper right-hand corner of a relief with a dressed bust of Luna, in a cloud, holding a whip with several tails; on her head is a crescent. Luna is quite frequently represented in the top right-hand corner of Mithraic *tauroctonos* reliefs.

The representation of the whip is rare, but a similar relief has been found in the Königshoffen Mithraeum, depicting Cautopates standing in a small shrine, in the pediment of which is the figure of Luna with a whip in her hand.[3]

This evidence suggests that our fragment comes from a Mithraic relief, but it cannot be matched with any of the other Mithraic fragments discovered at Entrains.[4] It is evident from the number and variety of fragments found that there were several *tauroctonos* reliefs, an indication that, despite the lack of structural remains of a Mithraeum, the cult was remarkably well represented at Entrains.

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[1] M. B. Devauges informs me that he saw this monument at the museum in 1966 *au fond d'une caisse*, The museum is, at the present time, in course of reorganisation, and I could obtain no further information.

[2] This fragment was not in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye at the time of my visit in April 1970, and M. B. Devauges informs me that it is not in the museum at Clamecy.

[3] L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 232-3; *CIMRM*, II, 1347, fig. 354.

[4] Reports indicate that Delimoges had another, similar fragment which may have fitted one of the reliefs described above.

Bibliography

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 263, no. 2282 & fig.
B. Devauges, *Entrains gallo-romain* (doctoral thesis), Djion 1970, p. 165, cat. no. 36.
CIMRM, I, 950 (1).

34. *A number of small stone heads*, found at Entrains, on the same site as the Mithraic reliefs. These were formerly part of the Collection Delimoges, but three of them are now displayed, with the other Mithraic finds, in the Musée des antiquités nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye, Inventory nos. 70065-7 : see Pls. XV-XVI, kindly provided by Mlle. Catherine Metzger.

Espérandieu has interpreted the heads on Pl. XV and Pl. XVI (left) as representations of the young Bacchus, and that on Pl. XVI (right) is described in the museum inventory as the head of a goddess, wearing a veil. It could be that the heads on Pl. XVI depict Sol and Luna, and were originally part of some quite ambitious cult representation. Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee is of the opinion that the head on Pl. XV could be Bacchus; it does not appear to be by the same hand (in contrast to the heads on Pl. XVI which have plain eye-balls, the pupils and the irises of the eyes are plastically rendered). Possibly all three heads belong to a set or sets of Olympian deities associated with Mithras. The 'Sol' might then be Apollo and the 'Luna' Juno, who is generally veiled. All three heads are fine pieces of provincial carving.

Bibliography

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Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, III, p. 263, no. 2281 & fig.; p. 264, no. 2286 & fig.
CIMRM, I, 949.

35. *A relief from Sarrebourg (PONS SARAVI)*, now in the museum at Metz : see Pl. XVII.

Findspot : The relief stood at the base of the cult niche, in front of the back wall of a Mithraeum, discovered during the summer of 1895 on the north slope of the Grand-Rebberg, 50 m above the south bank of the Sarre.[1]

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[1] Cf. above, pp. 17 ff.

Of Vosges sandstone, height 2.60 m, width 2.20 m, thickness 60 cm, it was attached to the back wall of the Mithraeum by means of iron clamps. The main relief (height 1.70 m, width 1.75 m), resting upon a cornice decorated with leaf ornament and carrying a votive inscription, consists of three blocks of stone, joined by iron clamps, and is capped by a frieze on which rests another cornice with flower and leaf decoration. On either side of the main relief is a border (width 22 cm) containing a number of subsidiary scenes.

The central scene depicts Mithras as bull-slayer, his right leg pressed against the right hind hoof of the bull and his left on the bull's back. The god's head, his right hand, and the knife are missing.[1] The bull, caught in full flight, has its head reared in the air and its front legs sharply contracted against its body; muzzle and hind legs are damaged, but at the end of the tail are clearly visible seven ears. Of the animals which normally accompany this scene, the dog and scorpion are in their usual places, and the raven, found elsewhere among the débris, probably perched on the flowing mantle of the god. Beneath the bull's body is a vase, to which a snake (of which fragments have been found) directed its head, and beside it, a lion, its head facing forwards and its front paws covering an indistinct object. On either side of the scene stand the figures of Cautes and Cautopates, cross-legged, clothed in tunic and Phrygian cap. Cautopates, his torch lowered, holds in his other hand a palm leaf (?), while Cautes, his torch raised, stands on a sphere, covered with spikes, and with his other hand holds an indistinct object.

In the four corners of the relief are busts of the Wind-Gods; the two in the upper left- and lower right-hand corners bearded, the other two unbearded. The two gods in the upper corners have no wings, but instead, above them, are representations of the lunar and solar chariots.

The top frieze is devoted to a group of gods, from left to right : (?) Vulcan holding a hammer, an unbearded god in profile, Mercury distinguished by his winged hair and attributes — the *caduceus* and money bag, a beardless, curly-headed god (? Mars), and in the centre the bearded figure of Jupiter, seated on a throne and holding in his right hand a thunderbolt and in his left (now lost) a sceptre. To the right are Hercules, a lion's skin draped over his arm, holding in his right hand a club and in his left (?) an apple, Neptune with a trident and oar, and Bacchus, leaning against a large bunch of grapes.

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[1] Fragments of the god's head have been found; the upper eye-lids and eye-brows the front and beginning of the nose, the upper part of the hair curls and base of the cap.

In the corners of the frieze are two more scenes.

(1) To the left is Mithras, shooting an arrow towards a rock against which stands a figure, the lower part of whose body is lost; in front of the god is another kneeling figure with hands outstretched towards him.

(2) To the right is a small house, in front of which squats a figure holding a torch, while another figure in Phrygian cap (? Mithras) approaches the house apparently to set fire to it.

The side panels contain a number of subsidiary scenes.[1]

On the left-hand side, from bottom to top :

(1) A figure, clothed in tunic and trousers, extends an indistinct object towards another figure with long hair (? Saturn and Jupiter).

(2) A person in flying cloak grasps the hair of a smaller figure who seems to be kneeling before him (Jupiter and a Giant).

(3) An indistinct figure is depicted reclining on a rock (probably Oceanus).

(4) The rock birth of Mithras.

(5) This panel has been entirely destroyed.

On the right-hand side from top to bottom :

(1) A badly damaged panel represents Mithras being dragged along by the bull; only the legs of the god and the back of the bull are preserved.

(2) Mithras *taurophorus*; the bull's head and forelegs are trailing along the ground.

(3) A lion walks to the left, in front of a tree with seven branches (cypress).

(4) Mithras clasps hands with Sol.

(5) Mithras and Sol are seated at the banquet; to the right of the table, on the ground, is a bird (raven), and above it a bull's head. The whole relief was most probably crowned by the colossal bust of Sol, found elsewhere among the débris.

Height 67 cm, width 56 cm, it depicts the Sun God, his long curly hair falling down over his shoulders. His head is pierced by seven holes, into which fitted rays of metal, while a groove at the back of the head probably served to fix the *nimbus*, a semi-circle of stone, found also amongst the débris. Height 20 cm, diameter 38 cm, thickness 8 cm, this *nimbus* has a smaller semi-circle cut in the middle, from which radiate five spikes.[1]

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[1] Cf. the great relief from Osterburken : *CIMRM,* II, 1292, figs. 340-2.

On the base of the relief is the following inscription :

> IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE) DEO INV[ICT]O
> MARCELEUS MARIANUS D(E) S(UO) POSUIT[2]

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Marianus, belongs to a group Marius/-inus/-ianus which seems to have been particularly common among the Mediomatrici; it appears next in popularity to the Julius, Sextus, and Primus groups. The name Marcellus or Marceleus, though less frequent, is, none the less, still popular in this area.[3]

In view of this, it seems quite probable that the dedicant, Marceleus Marianus, was of local origin, probably a local recruit to the legions. He was evidently an influential person in the Mithraic community, and seems to have dedicated a second, more fragmentary inscription found on the base of one of the torchbearer statues.

Dating : The internal indications of date from the formula *in honorem domus divinae* suggest that the inscription is not earlier than the second century A.D.,[4] and Will has dated the cult relief itself to the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D. The style is, he claims, that of the Severan epoch, and the relief has many points of similarity, both in structure and content, with that found in the Strasbourg-Königshoffen Mithraeum and dated to the middle of the second century A.D. As far as can be seen from the fragmentary state of the Königshoffen relief, the order and content of the subsidiary scenes bear close comparison with those of the Sarrebourg relief, and in each case the main cult relief is surmounted by a horizontal frieze depicting an assembly of gods.[1]

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[1] F. von Fisenne, *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. Alt.*, VIII, 1896, pp. 133-4, 153, no. 56; Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VI, p. 34, no. 4565 & fig.; *MMM*, II, 273ter(e), fig. 466.

[2] Box reads the inscription incorrectly as : IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE) DEO INVICTO MARCELLEUS MAMOSYS POSUIT.

[3] J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln 1968, pp. 125-6.

[4] R. Cagnat, 168.

Coin evidence from the Mithraeum, which reveals a series from A.D. 254 to c. A.D. 395, may be misleading; the fourth century was a period of inflation which resulted in an increase in the number of coins issued. In all probability this Mithraeum was in existence at least by the beginning of the third century.

Sarrebourg lay in a strategic position at the bridging point of the Sarre, on the military way leading from Strasbourg to Metz, and it is quite probable that the cult of Mithras was brought to the town by the legionaries whose base was at Strasbourg.[2] This assumption is supported by the fact that the highly developed cult reliefs of the Sarrebourg and Strasbourg (Königshoffen) Mithraea show a degree of similarity greater than that of any other reliefs in the area of the *limes*.

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M. N. Box, 'Mithra et autres trouvailles archéologiques de Sarrebourg', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Metz*, 77-8, 1895-7, 3rd series 25-6, pp. 170 ff.
J. Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896, p. 335, no. ii.
WsdZ (Korr), XV, 1896, pp. 49 ff., no. 20.
F. von Fisenne, *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. Alt.*, VIII, 1896, pp. 136 ff.
AA, XII, 1897, pp. 8 ff.
AJA, 1897, p. 372.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VI, p. 28, no. 4563 & figs.
BJ, CXXIX, 1924, p. 87, no. 260.
Saxl, *Mithras : Typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1931, p. 29, fig. 81.
CIL, XIII, 4539.
MMM, II, 273ter(b), pl. IX, Inscr. 491(a).
CIMRM, I, 966-7, fig. 236.

36. *A badly damaged relief from the Sarrebourg Mithraeum.*

Findspot : This fragment, and the following item (No. 37), were found near the remains of the main cult relief.

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[1] E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, p. 410; *RA*, 1950, p. 84. According to Campbell's typology, the two reliefs are type VIII, subtype DE (a subtype which became the prevailing one in Germany) : L. A. Campbell, 'Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones', *Berytus*, XI, 1954, pp. 30, 53, nos. 861-6; *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 2-3.

[2] Pauly-Wissowa, XXI, ii, Stuttgart 1952, 2466-7. O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana, 1, Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, Leipzig 1929. pp. 57, 372.

Of Vosges sandstone, height 93 cm, width 45 cm, thickness 18 cm, it depicts the torchbearer, Cautopates, with his head turned to the left. The figure, standing cross-legged and clothed in Eastern attire, held a torch, now lost. It appears to have suffered from fire, perhaps because it stood near a burning altar. On its base is the fragment of an inscription of which only a few words are legible :

> AR / .... MARLI MARC/ELLIUS MARIA[NU]S DE / SUO POSUIT[1]

The preserved fragments seem to indicate that the same man dedicated this and the main cult relief.

Bibliography

E. Wendling, *WsdZ* (Korr.), XIV, 1895, p. 229.
M. N. Box, *Mémoires de l'Académie de Metz*, 77-8, 1895-7, 3rd series 25-6, p. 173.
F. von Fisenne, *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. Alt.*, VIII, 1896, p. 147.
J. Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896, p. 337, no. iii, 1.
AA, XII, 1897, p. 9.
AJA, 1897, p. 372.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VI, p. 34, no. 4564 & fig.
CIL, XIII, 4540.
MMM, II, 273ter(f), fig. 467, Inscr. 491(b).
CIMRM, I, 968-9.

37. *A very mutilated relief from the Sarrebourg Mithraeum.*

Findspot : This fragment was found in the same place as the preceding item. Of Vosges sandstone, height 96 cm, width 45 cm, thickness 15 cm, it depicts the second torchbearer, Cautes. This figure is even more heavily mutilated than the Cautopates and little remains of the base, on which there was probably an inscription. Keune has suggested that fragments of an inscription ..... SUO/......T ITŞ,[2] found elsewhere in the Mithraeum, may have belonged to it; they could equally well have come from any one of the altars of which a number of fragments were found.

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[1] An alternative reading provided by Espérandieu has been generally rejected : CAUT]O[PATI] MAR[C]ELEUS M]AR[I F]ILIUS MARIANUS DE [S]UO POSUIT.

[2] *CIL*, XIII, 4541; *MMM*, II, 273ter(t), Inscr. 491(c).

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E. Wendling, *WsdZ* (Korr.), XIV,1895, p. 229.
M. N. Box, *Mémoires de l'Académie de Metz*, 77-8, 1895-7, 3rd series 25-6, p. 173.
F. von Fisenne, *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. Alt.*, VIII, 1896, p. 147.
J. Keune, *WsdZ*, XV, 1896, p. 337, no. iii, 2.
AA, XII, 1897, p. 9.
AJA, 1897, p. 372.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VI, p. 34, no. 4564 & fig.
MMM, II, 273ter(f), fig. 468.
CIMRM, I, 968.

38. *A number of fragments of sculpture, found in the Sarrebourg Mithraeum.*

a) A fragment of red sandstone, height 20 cm, width 23 cm, thickness 10 cm, depicting the upper part of a clothed man, holding in his right hand a garland or broad ring and in his left, clasped over his chest, a spherical object, possibly the knob of a staff.

b) A headless statuette of red sandstone, height 45 cm, width 15 cm, thickness 12 cm, depicting a naked male figure carrying, on his left arm, a bird, possibly a cock. The hands and part of the legs are lost, but traces of the feet are visible on part of the base, which has been found separately. On the underside of the base is a deep groove which probably served to attach the statuette to a pedestal. The statuette itself is strengthened by a raised band, width 8 cm, thickness 4.5 cm, which runs the length of the back.

c) The right lower corner of a sandstone relief, height 34 cm, width 16 cm, thickness 10 cm, with a raised border 5 cm thick, depicting a standing naked male figure, his hands crossed over his chest. The head and upper part of the body have been lost, and the surface of the stone attacked with a hammer.

d) A damaged statuette of sandstone, height 14.5 cm, width 16 cm, thickness 8 cm, depicting the torso of a naked muscular figure. The back is carefully sculpted, suggesting that the statuette was free standing.

e) Two small heads, height 16.5 cm and 13 cm, width 14 cm and 8.5 cm, thickness 12 cm and 9 cm, depicting young women.

f) A hand, larger than life size, height 18 cm, width 12 cm, thickness 8 cm. The thumb touches the index finger, and in the palm is a rectangular projection which probably secured an offering of some kind.

Of these fragments b) may be a representation of Mercury whose attribute was a cock. This god is found quite frequently in connection with Mithras, the *corax* grade in the Mithraic mysteries being associated with the planet Mercury, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find a possible statuette of Mercury inside a Mithraeum.[1]

It has been suggested that d) may come from a representation of the rock birth of Mithras, but the statuette is too badly damaged to permit adequate interpretation. Likewise, fragments a) and c) cannot, with any probability, be identified with the cult of Mithras,[2] but there are interesting parallels to e) and f) in the Mithraeum at Les Bolards (Nos. 25, c & d). In view of the fact that both Mithraea were situated in close proximity to sanctuaries of Celtic divinities — at Sarrebourg altars to Sucellus and Nantosvelta were discovered close by the Mithraeum, and at Les Bolards the Mithraeum was situated in a sanctuary area devoted largely to the worship of the Mother Goddesses — it would not be surprising to find representations of other divinities among the Mithraic finds.

Bibliography

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F. von Fisenne, *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. Alt.*, VIII, 1896, p. 147, nos. 32-8.
AA, XII, 1897, p. 9.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VI, p. 36, no. 4567 & figs.
MMM, II, 275ter(g-m), figs. 469-75.
CIMRM, 1, 970-5.

39. *A stone relief from Trier (AUGUSTA TREVERORUM)*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. S.T. 9981 : see Pl. XVIII, kindly provided by Dr. Wolfgang Binsfeld.

Findspot : This relief, together with items 40-42, was found inside the Mithraeum, discovered in 1928 during excavations in the Altbachtal sanctuary area. It lay near the two altars (Nos. 40-41) which originally stood to either side. Height 94 cm, width 50 cm, thickness 14.5 cm,[1] it depicts the cosmic birth of Mithras.

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[1] Cf. below, pp. 118 f.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 971 notes the suggested interpretation of (a) as an Aion (Kronos-Saturn). No such interpretation is offered for (c). It is unlikely that either are "Aions" but of the two (c) is the less unlikely.

The scene is bordered by two columns with capitals, supporting a *tympanum*. The young god, dressed only in a Phrygian cap, is depicted emerging from the rock, holding the solar globe in his left hand, and stretching the right hand upwards to grasp at the circular zone on which are represented six signs of the zodiac, from left to right : Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo and Virgo. In the angles between the zodiac circle and the columns are busts of the four Wind-Gods, Zephyrus, Eurus, Notus and Boreas, and beneath the circular zone, in front of the rock are, from left to right, the raven, snake, and dog, all three of whom raise their heads towards Mithras. In the *tympanum* of the relief to the left, under a bust of Sol in radiate crown, is a lion, in threatening attitude, and to the right, under a damaged bust of Luna, a thunderbolt, leaning against a quartered globe; between them stands a *krater*, encircled by a snake.

The order of the signs of the zodiac is the same as that found regularly on *tauroctonos* reliefs from Germany, and on the representation of the egg birth from Housesteads,[2] but here, unusually, only the spring and summer signs are depicted. The action of the god, stretching up his right hand to touch the zodiac circle and holding in his left hand the globe, has been compared with a scene from the Barberini fresco which depicts a youth in Phrygian cap, struggling upwards from a kneeling position, his left hand touching the ground at the foot of a tree to his left, and the right grasping at the underside of the sky above the tree to his right.[3]

This unusually rich representation of the cosmic birth stood in a prominent position in the Mithraeum, against the wall opposite the entrance door, and was flanked by two altars, dedicated by a Mithraic *pater*. It incorporates the symbolism found normally on the reliefs of the bull-slaying scene, and it is striking that only a few possible remains of this great cult relief have been discovered in the Mithraeum. It is tempting to suppose that this symbolically rich representation of the cosmic birth served as the main cult relief, but the argument must be treated with some caution. Examples from other Mithraea show that the main cult representation was often badly smashed; at Les Bolards only a few possible fragments of the bull-slaying relief have been found (No. 25), and at Housesteads, which has produced perhaps the closest parallel for the Trier relief, there was a cult relief behind the egg birth and flanking altars.

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[1] The measurements given are those of Gose.

[2] L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, p. 48; *CIMRM*, I, 860, fig. 226; D. Levi, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 269 ff., 292.

[3] L. A. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 388; *CIMRM*, I, 390, fig. 112; for the action of the god cf. also H. P. L'Orange, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship*, Oslo 1953, p. 33.

Bibliography

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Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, XI, p. 53, no. 7737 & fig.
J. Leipoldt, *Die Religion des Mithra*, Leipzig 1930, fig. 30.
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E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 113, fig. 232.
CIMRM, I, 985, fig. 237.

40. *A votive altar from Trier*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. S.T. 9969 : see Pl. XIX.

Findspot : This altar, and the following item 41, were found at the west end of the Altbachtal Mithraeum, and the plinths on which they originally stood were discovered *in situ*, on either side of the stone base which carried the representation of the cosmic birth. Of limestone, height 1.06 m, width 43-32 cm, thickness 28 cm,[1] it carries the following inscription and decoration :

> D(EO) I(NVICTO) M(ITHRAE) / MARTIUS / MARTIA/LIS PATER / IN SUO / POSUIT.

with, on the base, a dagger and a Phrygian cap.

Dating : Some internal indications of date may be gained from the name of the dedicant, Martius Martialis. The absence of a *praenomen* suggests a date in the third century A.D. or later, and this supports Grenier's suggestion that the Mithraeum was constructed after the ruin and abandonment of a theatre, the stage of which was found beneath the north wall of the Mithraeum. This reconstruction probably took place after the Germanic invasions of A.D. 256-7.[1] The latest coins found in the Mithraeum are of Gratian A.D. 367-83.

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[1] Gose gives height 1.04 m, width 44-32 cm, thickeness 41 cm. The thickness is presumably that of the base as against the shaft.

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Martialis, seems to have been particularly frequent in African epigraphy : 324 out of a total of 771 examples in *CIL* are from Africa.[2] It was also popular among the Treveri and Mediomatrici (8 examples among the Treveri and 6 among the Mediomatrici),[3] and the name Martius is found frequently on stones from the Rhineland.

In view of this, the dedicant may well have been of local origin. He held the important position of *pater* in the Mithraic community and his name and title are recorded a second time on the altar described below, No. 41.

Bibliography

H. Fincke, *BRGK*, XVII, 1927, p. 8, no. 24.

S. Loeschcke, *Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier*, Berlin 1928, pp. 16, 36.

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, X, p. 207, no. 7590.

E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 113, fig. 236.

CIMRM, I, 987; II, 987, fig. 260.

41. *A votive altar from Trier*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. S.T. 9970 : see Pl. XX.

Findspot : the same as the preceding item.

Of limestone, height 1.04 m, width 45-43 cm, thickness 28 cm,[4] it carries the following inscription and decoration :

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[1] A. Grenier, *Manuel*, IV (2), Paris 1960, p. 875.

[2] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, pp. 18, 212.

[3] J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln 1968, p. 126.

[4] Gose gives height 1.04 m, width 44-32 cm, thickness 41 cm. The thickness is presumably that of the base as against the shaft.

D(EO) I(NVICTO) S(OLI) / MARTIUS / MARTIA/LIS PATER / IN SUO / POSUIT

with, on the base, the globe and whip of Sol.

Bibliography

H. Fincke, *BRGK*, XVII, 1927, p. 8, no. 25.
S. Loeschcke, *Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier*, Berlin 1928, pp. 16, 36.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, X, p. 204, no. 7585.
E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 113, fig. 237.
CIMRM, I, 986; II, 986.

42. *A votive aedicula from Trier*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. S.T. 12360 : see Pl. XXI.

Findspot : the aedicula was found in the rubbish layer left by the destruction of the Mithraeum.

Of limestone, height 33 cm, width 24 cm, it carries the following inscription :

D(EO) I(NVICTO) M(ITHRAE) / NICASIUS V(OTUM) [S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO)]

The niche, in the centre of which are inscribed the letters D.I.M., is framed by two Ionic columns, surmounted by a triangular pediment decorated with a zig-zag pattern. On the base is inscribed the name of the dedicant. Two holes, pierced in the centre of the stone, probably served to attach it to the wall.

Origin of the dedicant : The dedicant has only the single name, Nicasius, included by J.-J. Hatt in his list of religious *cognomina*. According to Hatt, this name was derived from Nike — implying victory over death.[1] These *cognomina* appear to have been particularly frequent among orientals, slaves, and freedmen, but were also adopted by the indigenous population. Our dedicant's place of origin cannot, therefore, be asserted with any degree of confidence.

Bibliography

H. Nesselhauf, *BRGK*, XXVII, 1937, p. 55, no. 11.

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[1] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, pp. 52, 276.

E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 114.
CIMRM, II, 987bis, fig. 261.

42A. *A number of fragments*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, unearthed from the rubbish heap in front of the podium wall at the west end of the Mithraeum. These may have been detached from the relief of the bull-slaying scene :

a) Head of a curly-haired youth wearing a Phrygian cap, Inv. no. S.T. 9975. Height 17 cm, width 11 cm, the head has been broken off at the neck, and the surface of the limestone is slightly damaged.

b) Horn of a bull, Inv. no. S.T. 9976. Of limestone, height 17 cm, width 19 cm.

c) Right hand with fingers clasped, Inv. no. S.T. 9972. Of limestone, length 11 cm, the hand originally held a rounded object, possibly the hilt of a knife. Traces of the sleeve are visible at the wrist.

d) Part of a base with a left foot, Inv. no. S.T. 9984. Of limestone, width 29 cm, height 23 cm, the fragment preserves a left foot, length 10 cm, wearing a boot. Near the foot is a rectangular hole, 15 cm deep. Perhaps this was a base for a figure of Cautes or Cautopates. Traces of clamping, visible at the back, indicate that the stone had already been broken and repaired at some earlier date.

e) Part of the short tunic and thigh of a figure, Inv. no. S.T. 9974. This limestone fragment, height 14 cm, width 20 cm, possibly comes from a figure of Cautes or Cautopates.

f) Right hand holding the fragment of a torch, Inv. no. S.T. 9980. Of limestone, length 15 cm, this may also come from one of the torchbearer figures.

Bibliography

E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 112, figs. 244, 235, 246, 249.

42B. *Fragment of a sandstone relief*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inv. no. S.T. 13883, found in a rubbish heap to the east of the Mithraeum.

The relief, height 44 cm, width 35 cm, thickness 24-18 cm, has a projecting, slightly bevelled base, on which is a rough sphere. Standing on this are two legs, encircled by snakes, the feet being those of a bird. The back of the stone has been left fairly rough, indicating that it was intended to be seen from one side only.

Bibliography

E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier,* Mainz 1972, p. 114, fig. 233.

43. *A head, in high relief, from Trier,* now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. G. 25 : see Pl. XXII.

Findspot : The relief was found in 1864, during road works on the slope of the hill leading to Heiligkreuz.

Of limestone, height 18 cm, it represents a young man with long curly hair, wearing a Phrygian cap tilted to the right of the head. The right-hand side of the cap is not completely finished, and on the back is a stone peg which served to attach it to a relief. The workmanship is careful and the eyes are deep set, giving an impression of melancholy, *le regard pathétique.* This head may have belonged to one of the torch-bearers (Cautes) who stood usually on either side of the cult relief. With it were found a lion's head and mask, the fragment of a head of a Genius, 6 clay lamps, and a knife with a golden handle, expensively worked with three decorative stones (emerald, garnet, and a third stone, now missing).[1]

These finds, together with the fragment of a bronze tablet (No. 44) found in 1854, have been used to support the theory that there was a Mithraeum in this vicinity. Trier was such an important administrative and commercial centre that there could well have been more than one Mithraeum but, in the absence of any structural remains, the existence of such a building in the area of Heiligkreuz must remain conjecture only.

Bibliography

Jahrb. GNF, 1863-4, p. 86.

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[1] S. Loeschcke, *TH,* 1925, pp. 318-9; *CIMRM,* I, 991.

F. Hettner, *Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, Trier, 1893, p. 67, no. 114.
Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, VI, p. 233, no. 4949 & fig.
BJ, 129, 1924, p. 87, no. 265.
S. Loeschcke, *TH*, 1925, p. 317, fig. 7.
MMM, II, 273bis.
CIMRM, I, 989.

44. *A fragment of a bronze tablet*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. G.T. 107.

Findspot : The fragment was found at Heiligkreuz in 1854 but no detailed information as to the exact findspot is available. It is the right hand corner of a votive tablet, height 9.5 cm, width 1.2 cm, with the remains of an inscription :

DEO IN]VICTO SACRUM

If the restoration *Deo In*]*victo* is justified, i.e. if there is space for *Deo In*] and no more, there is a very strong presumption in favour of a Mithraic interpretation, but we have no information on the probable size of the missing fragment and it could be that the epithet *invictus* was preceded by the name of one of the number of gods to whom it was applied.

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CIL, XIII, 3663.
MMM, II, Inscr. 491.
CIMRM, I, 990.

45. *A pedestal from Trier*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. 1882 : see Pls. XXIII-XXVI.

Findspot : The pedestal was acquired in 1879, from the antique dealer Krumpholz at Trier, and, according to Hettner, was found during work on the railway cutting, not far from the Weberbach, and south of the Imperial baths.

Of limestone, height 31.5 cm, width 23-20.5 cm, it is rectangular in form with a projecting base. The four sides are decorated with panels in relief, height 24 cm, width 18-15.5 cm.

a) The front panel depicts a lion walking towards a tree, from which winds a snake. In the lower right-hand corner of the relief is an indistinct object, possibly a low altar, in front of which is a bull's head, and above the lion are a large *krater* and an arrow. The symbolical group, consisting of a serpent, a lion, a *krater*, and a bird, appears on a number of Mithraic monuments.[1] Less usually, as on this altar, the fourth symbol is represented by an arrow.

b) The side panels depict the busts of Sol right and Luna left, the former in *nimbus* with radiate crown, the latter in *nimbus* and crescent, emerging from a cluster of jagged foliage, their faces turned slightly towards the front panel. Similar busts of Sol and Luna appear regularly in the upper left- and right-hand corners of reliefs depicting the bull-slaying scene.

c) The back panel has two cypress trees, a motif found quite frequently by the cave which framed the Mithraic cult scene.

Although this pedestal cannot, with certainty, be ascribed to the cult of Mithras, the balance of probability rests in favour of a Mithraic interpretation. A pedestal from the Poetovio Mithraeum, which carries a representation of the rock birth and which is dedicated *petrae genetrici*, bears similar busts of Sol and Luna.[2]

Loeschcke has suggested that the pedestal from Trier may also originally have carried a representation of the rock birth; the upper surface is worn, indicating that another stone possibly stood on it, but this suggestion, although plausible, cannot be supported by conclusive evidence.

It is of interest that an altar dedicated to Hecate and a statuette of this three-headed goddess were discovered in the same spot as this pedestal.[3]

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[1] M. J. Vermaseren, *Mnemosyne*, IV, 1951, p. 289, n. 8.

[2] *CIMRM*, II, 1489.

[3] F. Hettner, *Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, Trier 1893, p. 54, nos. 83, 84 & figs.

It is not clear from the accounts of the find whether these monuments came from the same destruction layer, but Loeschcke has associated all three with the rubbish heap in which a bronze lion was also found. The monuments may have been brought together purely by chance, but it is worthy of mention that a marble statue of Hecate was found inside the Sidon Mithraeum and others at S. Prisca and Stockstadt, Mithraeum I.[1] A number of inscriptions refer to persons who were devotees of both Hecate and Mithras.[2]

It is evident from the discovery of a Mithraeum in the Altbachtal sanctuary area that the cult of Mithras was well established in Trier, and this altar pedestal was, in all likelihood, associated with the cult.

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MMM, II, 321, figs. 378-81.
CIMRM, I, 992.

46. *An altar from Apt (APTA JULIA).* This, and the succeeding items 47-48 were at the Hotel de Ville at Apt in 1903 but have since disappeared.

Findspot : The altar was found at Apt in 1903, during road works on the ground known as Le Clos, formerly the property of the Abbé Pinand and now the public garden.

Of local stone, height 43 cm, width 15 cm, thickness 14 cm, it carried the following inscription :

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 84; 486; II, 1187.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 206; 360; 513; 514; 515; 516; 520; 522; 523; II, 395 A.

DEO / MERCU/RIO MI/THRAE / T(ITUS) T(......) O(PTATUS?) P(OSUIT)[1]

Dating : From the good quality of the letter forms, Espérandieu has dated the inscription probably to the second century. The presence of the *praenomen* would certainly support a date not later than the second century, after which time *praenomina* tended to be abandoned.[2]

Origin of the dedicant : If we accept Espérandieu's restoration, we may comment that the *cognomen*, Optatus, belongs to a group which appears to have been particularly popular among slaves and freedmen. This may be partly explained by the fact that *cognomina* suggesting the quality of agreeability were favourite slave names.[3] In view of this it seems likely that our dedicant was a freedman.

The interest of this inscription lies, above all, in the evidence it provides of a conflation of Mithras and Mercury.[4] This is by no means an isolated instance of the close connection between the two gods. The classic example comes from Merida, a marble statue of a naked Mercury, sitting on a large boulder, with an inscription dated by the year of the *colonia* to A.D. 155 and dedicated to Mithras.[5] A small marble statuette from the Walbrook Mithraeum depicts a naked Mercury, sitting on a rock.[6]

In the Dieburg Mithraeum two dedications by the same man have been found, one to Mithras, the other to Mercury.[7] Inside the same Mithraeum were a statue of Mercury with three animals, a ram, a tortoise, and a cock, and the fragment of a second statue of which only the feet and part of the ram survive.[1] At Stockstadt, in both Mithraea I & II, statues of Mercury have been found, and the particularly fine example from Stockstadt II, depicting Mercury sitting on a rock, holding in his left hand a *caduceus* and on his right arm the young god Bacchus, carries an inscription to Mithras and Mercury.[2] The symbols of Mercury (cock and tortoise) and Mithras (raven, Phrygian cap and dagger) appear together on a votive altar from Poetovio, Mithraeum I.[3]

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[1] The *cognomen* is restored as O(PTATUS) by reference to a second inscription, found at the same time and in the same place, with the following dedication : DEO/ MARTI / T·T· OP/TATUS / P : E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, Paris 1929, p. 50, no. 158; *RE*, V. July-Dec. 1903, p. 35, no. 1544.

[2] Cf. above, p. 59, n. 1.

[3] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, pp. 75-7.

[4] For the association between the two gods cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London 1962, p. 133; M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras de geheimzinnige god*, p. 92 (English ed. London 1963, p. 113). For the universality of Mercury cf. A. A. Barb, *JWCI*, XXVI, 1964, pp. 3 ff.

[5] *CIMRM*, I, 780-1, fig. 213 : *Ann(o) col(oniae) CLXXX / invicto deo Mithrae/ sacr(um) / G(aius) Accius Hedychrus / pater / a(nimo) l(ibente) p(osuit).*

[6] *CIMRM*, I, 821.

[7] *D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / Priscinius Sedulius / Primulus fratris (sic!) / v.s.l.l.m.* : *CIMRM*, II, 1256; F. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg*, Berlin 1928, pp. 31-2, no. 7, fig. 3. *Deo xanc/to Mercurio Prisc/[i]nius Sed/ulius v/s.l.l.m.* : *CIMRM*, II,

Mercury was often associated with a Celtic god, Cissonius, particularly well known in Belgic Gaul, and inscriptions to Mercurius Cissonius have been found in Avenches, Besançon, Rheinzabern, Heddernheim, and Cologne.[4] It is interesting, therefore, to find in the Königshoffen Mithraeum, a dedication to Cissonius.[5]

Clearly a number of gods were brought into the worship of Mithras, and, since Mercury was such a popular god in Roman Gaul, it is not surprising to find the two associated on an inscription from Apt. The evidence of other Mithraic finds (Nos. 47-48), may indicate that the town had a Mithraic community. Apt, the old centre of the Vulgientes, was evidently a town of some importance, situated on the main route from Milan to Arles.

Excavations of the area round 'Le Clos', opened up as a result of the road works of 1902-4, revealed a large number of Roman remains. This site lay at the southern extremity of the Roman town and was, in part, a cemetery, but it is evident from the finds of a tile-works and pottery kiln that a certain amount of industrial activity was established there. The discovery of mosaics indicates a degree of prosperity, and clearly Apt was a flourishing centre in Roman times. Its position on an important

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1267; F. Behn, *op. cit.*, p. 37, no. 22, fig. 46. Sedulius is a Celtic name : A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer sprachschatz*, II, Leipzig 1904, 1433.

[1] F. Behn, *op. cit.*, p. 32, no. 8, fig. 33; p. 33, no. 9, fig. 34; *CIMRM*, II, 1257; 1258.

[2] *D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) Mercuri*[*o*] / *Q(uintus) P(ublius) Gemellus* / *v.s.l.l.m.* : *CIMRM*, II, 1210-11, fig. 318.

[3] *CIMRM*, II, 1496.

[4] *CIL*, XIII, 11476; 5373; 6085; 7359; 8237.

[5] R. Forrer, *Das Mithra-Heiligtum von Königshoffen bei Strassburg*, Stuttgart 1915, p. 49, pl. XVI, 3 : *Deo Cissonio Gittonius Pippausus v.s.l.l.m.*

route of communication makes the presence of a foreign cult easily explicable.

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J. Sautel, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine, VII, Vaucluse*, Paris 1939, p. 9, no. 46.

47. *An altar with relief from Apt*, formerly at the Hôtel de Ville, now lost.

Findspot : The altar was found at Apt in 1903, during the excavations undertaken in the area of Le Clos.

Of local stone, height 32 cm, width 19 cm, thickness 15 cm, it carries a mutilated relief, depicting a torchbearer (Cautes), standing cross-legged, clothed in a short tunic, and holding with one hand an upraised torch.[1] His head and right hand have both been broken off. At his left, on the ground, is a very rudimentary sketch of a bird, possibly a cock, turned towards the right. A fresco from the temple at Santa Maria di Capua Vetere provides a parallel for the appearance of a cock with Cautes;[2] a statue and group of the bull-slaying scene from Rome and a mosaic in the Mithraeum of the Domus Apulei are further examples,[3] and the Cautes of S. Prisca, originally a Mercury, is depicted leaning against a tree trunk on which a cock is represented.[4] Less frequently this attribute also appears with the other torchbearer, Cautopates, as on a statue from the Mithraeum of S. Lorenzo and possibly on another statue from Rome.[5]

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[1] F. Sauve, *Congrès archéologique de France*, Avignon 1909, II, p. 106, mistakenly interprets this relief as a shepherd, holding a shepherd's crook.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 182, fig. 53; M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I : The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere*, Leiden 1971, pp. 18-9, pl. XVI.

[3] *CIMRM*, I, 431 (1); 532; 243.

[4] *CIMRM*, I, 477; M. J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, p. 133, cat. W 19, pl. LXXVI; cf. above, p. 94 n. 2.

[5] *CIMRM*, I, 427; 431 (2).

Of poor workmanship, the altar from Apt is evidently a rather crude Gallo-Roman interpretation of the traditional torchbearer type.

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R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, pp. 2, 18, pl. VIII, 1.
CIMRM, I, 997.

48. *Two altars from Apt*, formerly at the Hôtel de Ville, now lost.

Findspot : The same as the preceding item.
Of local stone, height 39 cm, width 13 cm, thickness 9 cm, each altar is decorated on one face with a relief depicting the attributes of the torchbearers, in one case an upraised torch, in the other a torch pointed downwards. Sauve incorrectly interprets this as a *thyrsus*.

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CIMRM, I, 998.

49. *Fragment of a statue and a low relief from Dyo (near St. Germain-en-Brionnais)*, in the possession of M. Vaisant mayor of Saint-Germain-en-Brionnais, information kindly provided by M. René Horiot.

Findspot : The fragments were found during the winter of 1963-4, in the bank of a granite quarry, situated in the Bois de Perrière, near Dyo. This was, it seems, the site of a Gallo-Roman settlement, which has never been systematically excavated.

a) The low relief, of yellowish limestone from Bajocien,[1] height about 40 cm, depicts the torchbearer Cautes, holding in both hands a raised torch; to his right stands an altar. The figure is clothed in a tunic and cloak clasped over his left shoulder, and wears on his head a Phrygian cap. The head, although badly defaced, appears to have been inclined to the right. According to the report published in *La Physiophile*, the figure is kneeling, but the fragmentary state of the relief makes it difficult for this to be decided with any degree of certainty.

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[1] The original report gave the material as *grès ocreux et granuleux*, but R. Horiot has kindly supplied the corrected information.

b) The fragment of a statue, of white shelly limestone, height 42 cm, depicts the torso of a figure, clothed in a tunic, his left arm clasped over his chest. The right arm is broken. It has been suggested that this could be the figure of Cautopates, but the evidence is really insufficient to support such a hypothesis. The most that can be said is that this statue was found in the same place and at the same time as the Cautes relief.

The reports in *La Physiophile* and in *Gallia* draw attention to the discovery of structural remains, possibly connected with these sculptural fragments, but M. René Horiot has been good enough to furnish me with the following information : "The work of reclamation, undertaken immediately after the discovery of the statues, was deceptive; no valuable structure was, in fact, recovered and all the evidence seems to indicate that the whole of the settlement underwent a total and systematic destruction. There is no certain evidence as to the location of the temple ... the only indication we have of the possible temple site comes from the existence of an oval ditch surrounding the place where the statues were discovered. The material, which came out of the small section excavated, resembled detritus". (The bottom of the ditch was filled with a black ashy soil, containing numerous fragments of local coarse pottery.)

The ditch could have served as the outlet for waste from a temple, but a more thorough examination of the site is necessary before any conclusions may be made concerning the nature of the settlement.

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50. *An altar from Valence (VALENTIA)*, now in the museum at Grenoble.

Findspot : The altar was found in the Rue Sadi Carnot at Valence in January 1904.

Of local stone, height 45 cm, width 19 cm, thickness 12 cm, it carries the following inscription :

CAUTI / SEX(TUS) / CABIRIUS / IULLINUS

Origin of the dedicant : The *nomen*, Cabirius, is not a *nomen gentilicium* but a religious *cognomen* functioning as a *nomen*.[1] The Cabiri were non-Hellenic deities, worshipped as gods of fertility and protectors of sailors; they were frequently confused with the Dioscuri who appear in a Mithraic context on the relief from Vienne.[2]

The city of Valence owed its prosperity, for a large part, to its position at an important crossroad for communications between Italy and the Rhône valley and it is not, therefore, surprising to find a dedication to Cautes in such a cosmopolitan centre.

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R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, pp. 1, 33, pl. IV.

51. *A marble statue from La Lagaste.*

Findspot : The statue was found in 1920, during excavations of a hillside at La Lagaste in the commune of Rouffiac d'Aude. The hill borders the left bank of the Aude and this position dominates the course of the river and the road from Carcassonne to Mont-Louis, and has long been thought to be the site of a Gallo-Roman *oppidum*.

Of finely worked marble, height 67 cm, it depicts a curly-haired young man wearing a Phrygian cap and tunic, clasped at the waist, with long, fitting sleeves. His legs are clothed in *anaxyrides* and he is wearing boots.

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[1] J.-J. Hatt mentions Cabirus amongst his list of religious *cognomina* and quotes an example from Cologne : *CIL*, XIII, 8342. J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, p. 255.

[2] Cf. above, pp. 77 f.

The figure, standing cross-legged, has his right arm broken and his left resting across the belt of his tunic. The back of the statue is unworked and bears traces of having been torn from a relief; similarly, the right-hand side of the tunic and the face are not completely finished. An unexpected fold across the left-hand side of the tunic indicates that the right arm held a long object which passed in front of the head and rested against the left-hand side of the figure; Audy suggests that this was a torch, held aloft, and that the figure is that of Cautes. The unfinished right-hand side of the statue was probably attached to a relief, possibly of the bull-slaying scene.

Dating : Audy has dated the statue to the third century A.D.

It is evident from the discovery of bronze objects, *fibulae*, needles, pendants, fragments of corner stones, pottery sherds, and a certain amount of débris, mixed with ashes, that further excavation could bring to light structural remains of a settlement. The statue was, it seems, found *dans une sorte de fosse carré en pierre*, but the interpretation of this structure must await renewed work on the site.

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52. *A small low relief from Lillebonne (JULIOBONA)*, now in the Musée départemental des antiquités, Rouen : see Pl. XXVII, kindly provided by the museum.

Findspot : The relief was unearthed in 1864, during the excavations of a dwelling house. It came from a room which Prof. Louis Harmand has recently interpreted as a Mithraeum, and stood by the side of two altars on the left-hand side of the presumed nave.

Height 38 cm, width 16 cm, thickness 10 cm, it depicts the bust of a solar divinity, set in a raised frame. The Sun God (described by the museum as Malakbal) has thick curly hair, from which emerge seven rays, set in a *nimbus*. The face, turned slightly to the right, has suffered from the weathering of the stone, and the nose is chipped, giving the figure a rather hard and spiteful expression. It is not impossible, however, that the face originally wore the more normal expression *pathétique* which was often employed to emphasise the divine character of a person. The context of the find indicates that this monument is probably Mithraic in character.

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INSCRIBED MONUMENTS OF UNCERTAIN MITHRAIC CHARACTER

53. *An inscription from St. Remy-en-Provence (GLANUM)*, whereabouts now unknown.

SOLI / INVICTO / D.....A.... EUDAEM(ON)[1]

Findspot : The inscription is said to have been found *à une bastide du terroir de St. Remy.* It was not, therefore, discovered *in situ*, and was probably used at some stage as building stone.

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Eudaemon, is of Greek origin, and is classified by J.-J. Hatt amongst his group of religious *cognomina.*[2] The popularity of these names was, he claims, spread particularly through the agency of orientals, slaves and freedmen, and it may well be that this was a freedman of Greek origin. The possibility that he was still a slave cannot be excluded; A. Garcia y Bellido has drawn attention to an inscription from Benijayo in Spain, dedicated to Mithras by a slave, Lucanus.[3]

It is not certain that this inscription was intended as a dedication to Mithras. There is no indication as to the date of the stone so we cannot know whether it postdated the assimilation of *Sol invictus* with Mithras,[4] but it would not be surprising to find evidence of Mithraic worship at Glanum, an important centre of commercial activity. The *raison d'être* of this Hellenistic settlement was trade, for it lay near the ancient route from Beaucaire to Cavaillon, a continuation of the Via Domitia, crossed here by the road running north to the Durance.[1]

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[1] *CIL* interprets the letters D.A. as an abbreviation for *Divo Augusto*, cf. an inscription to *I.O.M. Conservat. D.A. Attianus* : *CIL*, XII, 994, but the letters could also refer to a *praenomen* and *gentilicium* A(?urelius).

[2] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, pp. 49, 262.

[3] A. Garcia y Bellido, *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, Leiden 1967, p. 37.

[4] I. A. Richmond, *Arch. Ael.*, XXI, 1943, p. 210 f, comments that, although the cult of Sol Invictus was later assimilated to that of Mithras, its earlier first century manifestations in the West show no trace of the Mithraic connection; cf. also G. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus*, Leiden, 1972, esp. pp. 117 f.

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CIL, XII, 1003.
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CIMRM, I, 886.

54. *A votive altar from Aix-en-Provence (AQUAE SEXTIAE)*, now in the museum at Aix, information kindly received from Mlle. Sempere.

Findspot : The findspot is recorded as, *près d'Aix, au quartier de la Torse, dans l'enclos de M. Audemar.*

The altar was found embedded in a wall, and had obviously at some date been used as building stone. It was removed in 1839 and given to the museum by M. Imbert.

Of sandstone, height 62 cm, width 29 cm, thickness 16 cm, it depicts Sol, rising from the waves on a chariot drawn by four horses. The god is portrayed full face, wearing a cloak fastened with a clasp across the centre of his chest, and billowing out behind him in a crescentic shape reminiscent of the reliefs of Mithras as bull-slayer. Seven holes, pierced at regular intervals in his hair, suggest the former presence of seven rays of metal, now lost. The scene is set within a frame, composed of Corinthian pillars, surmounted by an arcade. A similar style of architectural framework appears on sarcophagi of the Severan epoch.[2] Above and below the relief is the following inscription :

P. TALLIUS ONE/SIMUS / V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO)

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[1] O. Brogan, *Roman Gaul*, London 1953, p. 98.

[2] R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques, essai de chronologie et d'histoire religieuse*, Paris 1966, pp. 73 ff. This style survives into the second half of the third century.

The god to whom the dedication was made is not mentioned by name, and J.-J. Hatt has described this monument as a dedication to Apollo.[1]

This motif is, however, found regularly in Mithraic iconography. The figure of Sol driving his chariot appears both as a subsidiary scene on the main cult relief of the bull-slaying, and independently with a dedication to Mithras, as on the relief from Rome, dedicated by Marcus Modius Agatho. The relief from Rome shows Sol, dressed only in a flying shoulder cape, his head surrounded by a radiate crown, standing in a *quadriga* urging on his horses; in his right hand he holds a whip and in his left the reins. The dedication is *sancto domino invicto Mithrae.*[2] A relief from Entrains, depicting Sol in his chariot, was found together with various fragments of bull-slaying reliefs, and its Mithraic context seems confirmed by the representation on the relief of the serpent-*krater* motif.[3] It is possible, therefore, that this relief from Aix may also have had a Mithraic context; the stylised treatment of the cloak is certainly reminiscent of the bull-slaying scene, where the god's cloak billows out behind him in just such a decorative fashion.

Dating : The presence of the *praenomen*, suggesting a date not much later than the second century A.D.,[4] and the style of the architectural framework which appears on sarcophagi of the Severan epoch tend to support a late second century date.

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Onesimus, is of East Mediterranean origin (*ὄνησιμος*): examples can be cited from Mytilene, Cyzicus and Traianopolis.[5]

The *gentilicium*, Tallius, is not known elsewhere in Gaul (there are no examples in *CIL* XII, XIII, or *EE*), but a recently discovered tombstone from Mainz records a C. Tallius Priscus, a veteran of the 14th legion, who died there in the late first century.[6] The 14th legion was recruited largely from North Italy and, according to Schulze, Tallius is connected with the group of names derived from the Sabine *praenomen*,

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[1] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, p. 278.

[2] *MMM*, II, 71(b), fig. 66, Inscr. 60(a); *CIMRM*, I, 332 (2); 333 (2).

[3] Cf. No. 27.

[4] Cf. above, p. 59, n. 1.

[5] *IGR*, IV, 111; 170; 626.

[6] Information kindly supplied by Dr. D. K. V. Dechen in advance of publication.

Talus — e.g., L. Thallius Aspes (Monte Aventino); Secunda Talia (Bononia).[1] In view of this, it seems quite probable that P. Tallius Onesimus was of Greek origin, possibly a freedman of a branch of the Tallius family. Since it was quite usual for freedmen to engage in trade with the financial backing of the family they had served, it is not surprising to find P. Tallius Onesimus active in Aix-en-Provence in the Rhône valley, a major centre for trade between the Mediterranean and the Gallic hinterland.

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CIL, XII, 511.
MMM, II, 325, Inscr. 503.
CIMRM, I, 878.

55. *An altar from Geneva (GENAVA)*, now in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, Epigraphical Inventory no. 2 : see Pl. XXVIII, kindly provided by Mlle. Christiane Dunant, curator of the museum.

Findspot : The altar was found in 1752, at Saint-Pierre, in the foundations of the cathedral.
Of limestone, height 1.05, m width 51.5 cm, thickness 42 cm, its upper surface is hollowed out in the shape of a *patera*, and one of the faces carries the following inscription :

> DEO INVICTO / GENIO LOCI / FIRMIDIUS SE/VERINUS MIL(ES) / LEG(IONIS) VIII AUG(USTAE) P(IAE) F(IDELIS) / C(ONSTANTIS) C(OMMODAE) STIP(ENDIORUM) XXVI A-RAM / EX VOTO PRO SALUTE / SUA V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO) POSITẠ / MUCIANO ET FABIANO CO(N)S(ULIBUS).[2]

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[1] W. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p. 94; *CIL*, VI, 22155; XI, 67075.

[2] Some authors have read POSITAM in line eight.

Dating: The inscription can be dated precisely by the consuls to A.D. 201.

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen*, Severinus, belongs to a group which seems to have been popular in North Gaul, among the Treveri, Mediomatrici and, in particular, the Ubii.[1] The *gentilicium*, Firmidius, is widely diffused in various parts of the Empire; there are examples from Noricum, Aquileia, Tridentum and Lugdunum.[2] In view of his *cognomen*, it seems possible that Firmidius Severinus was a local recruit to the 8th legion, whose base was at Strasbourg.[3] At the time of his death in A.D. 201 he had served 26 years in the legion, and had therefore seen service under Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Pertinax, and Septimius Severus. In view of the military operations undertaken in this area after the rebellion of Clodius Albinus and his defeat by Septimius Severus at Lugdunum in A.D. 197, it is not surprising to find a soldier of the 8th legion commemorated at Geneva, which lay on the military way from the Rhine to the Mediterranean.

Mithras was frequently referred to as the *deus invictus*, and there are known adherents of his cult among soldiers of the 8th legion, but, in view of the absence of *et* between the names *deus invictus* and *genius loci*, it could be that the dedication is to a single deity, the invincible god who is also the *genius loci*, and it is doubtful whether Mithras could be a *genius loci.*

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CIL, XII, 2587.

MMM, II, Inscr. 506.

CIMRM, I, 916.

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[1] J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln 1968, pp. 115, 126. Among the Ubii there are 26 examples of the Severus -inus group.

[2] *CIL*, III, 5344; V, 912; V, 5026; XIII, 2137.

[3] Dio Cassius 53, 23, 3.

56. *An altar from Lucey,* still standing in the courtyard of the château at Lucey.

Findspot : The altar was found at Lucey in 1844, but the exact findspot is unknown.

Neither the dimensions nor the material are given, but the altar carries the following inscription :

DEO / INVICTO / N(........) / SEVERIẠNUS / P(OSUIT)[1]

Origin of the dedicant : The *cognomen,* Severianus, is one of the most common names in the group ending in *-anus,* which appears to have been derived from *gentilicia* (113 examples in *CIL* of which only two are slaves).[2] The Severan dynasty, and in particular the emperor Septimius Severus, had an influence on the popularity of names with Severus as stem, and among the Mediomatrici, Treveri, and, above all, the Ubii the Severus group of names was very common.[3] Mommsen suggested that the stone should be restored as DEO INVICTO N(ABARZE), but Cumont has argued that the N could have been a mistake of the stone cutter; the letters were, it seems, badly formed, and the inscription may have been intended to read M(ITHRAE).

Whether one accepts N(abarze) or prefers to take the N as a mistake for M [4] it seems probable that this is a Mithraic monument.

Bibliography

R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône,* Leiden 1972, p. 32, pl. VIII, 2.
CIL, XII, 2441.
MMM, II, Inscr. 499.
CIMRM, I, 915.

57. *An ex voto from Deneuvre,* whereabouts now unknown.

Findspot : The find was made by M. Payard amongst the débris of masonry and pottery discovered during his excavations at Deneuvre. It is in the form of a little thin plaque of silver, shaped like a leaf, and carries an inscription. The plaque was found almost intact, save for the lower right-hand corner, and traces of oxidization, visible on the back, indicate that it was originally attached to another metal object, possibly a statuette. The letters of the inscription and the fine veins of the leaf are executed in *repoussé* work.

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[1] The name may have read SEVERINNUS..

[2] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina,* pp. 35, 257.

[3] J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier,* Köln, 1968, pp. 125-6.

[4] For N(abarze) see *CIMRM,* I, 501, and for N as a mistake see *CIMRM,* I, 872 (the correct reading of which is given in E. & J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain,* Leiden 1965, p. 39, n. 12).

The inscription reads :

DEO IN/IVICTO (sic) GERMAN[US] / SOL[VIT]

The 'N' of Germanus is uncertain, and, even if the name of the dedicant may be taken as Germanus, this can give no real indication of his place of origin. Kajanto has pointed out that, although geographical *cognomina* were originally a real indication of origin, they became transmitted from parents to children and soon lost their geographical implications.[1]

Dating : The débris of masonry and pottery in which this *ex voto* was found contained a quantity of bronzes of the late Empire, from Constantine to Magnentius, and this may indicate a third or fourth century date for the silver plaque.

A series of analogous *ex votos* was found at Vichy, and one of the silver leaves carries a dedication to Jupiter Sabazius. Several silver leaves were found in 1744 at Barkway in Hertfordshire. There are three inscribed pieces : (1) with a representation of Mars and dedication to Mars Alator; (2) without representation, dedicated to Mars Toutates; (3) with a representation of, and dedication to, Vulcan. There are also three more with representations of Mars (but no dedication), and one with a representation of Vulcan (but no dedication).[2]

Our inscription does not mention the god Mithras by name, but he is frequently referred to as *deus invictus*, and the Mithraic interpretation of this *ex voto* seems, therefore, highly probable.

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[1] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cogmomina*, pp. 50-1.

[2] *RIB*, 218, 219, 220 & figs.; cf. also the plaques from Stony Stratford (Buckinghamshire) : *RIB*, 215, 216, and from Bewcastle (Cumberland) : *RIB*, 986, 987. For votive plaques in general see E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, pp. 37 ff., and for the British parallels J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, Oxford 1964, pp. 328-31.

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CIL, XIII, 4735.
CIMRM, I, 953.

58. *A funerary urn, with inscription, from Dijon (DIBIO)*, at one time in the possession of Cardinal Richelieu, and later of Gaston d'Orléans, now lost.

Findspot : The urn was found on 2 November 1598, 500 paces from Dijon, among the vineyards of Les Poussots.

Of stone, height about 78 cm, diameter 78 cm, it is characteristic of a number of urns found in the east of France and in the Rhine Valley. In 1727, the Jesuits who possessed land in the neighbourhood of the vineyards of Guenebauld found urns and other objects which came from burials. The urn is described as authentic, but doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the inscription engraved round its base.

The inscription, in Greek, was translated by Vollgraff :

> ICI, DANS LA TERRE SACRÉE DE MITHRA, UN TERTRE RECOUVRE LE CORPS DE CHYNDONAX, GRAND-PRÊTRE. ABSTIENS-TOI D'IMPIÉTÉ À L'ASPECT DE SA TOMBE RÉDEMPTRICE.

Guenebauld did not publish the inscription until 1621, and although Saumise, who saw the inscription, described it as genuine, a number of writers from Montfaucon onwards have questioned its authenticity; it was classified as false in *CIL* and Cumont's *Corpus*, though *CIG* thought it genuine. Montfaucon suspected its authenticity on the grounds that copies made by Gruter and Guenebauld differed; Gruter used square characters, Guenebauld round. Moreover, the abbreviations used were unusual. Vollgraff has pointed out that copies of authentic texts often differ one from the other, and a Greek inscription of the late Empire, engraved in a milieu where Latin epigraphers used most diverse abbreviations, may well have carried unusual characters. He goes on to present the hypothesis that the *Μίθρης* refers, not to Mithras, but to a *goddess* Mitra. His argument is based, however, on the assumption that *Μίθρης* is the genitive form of *Μίθρα* (Kaibel and others regarded

Μίθρης as indeclinable), and is further pressed by the evidence that the priest's body was cremated, since the worshippers of Mithras buried their dead.

Thévenot is not convinced by this argument, and points out that the goddess, Mitra, is known only from a text of Herodotus, regarded by many modern scholars as inaccurate. Vollgraff interprets Mitra as the Persian Venus, but it is evident, from a number of inscriptions, that the Persian Venus was called Anahita, and was found quite frequently coupled with Mithras. Thévenot therefore believes that the inscription was intended to refer to Mithras, but remains unconvinced of its authenticity. If the inscription was intended as a warning to those who might profane a sacred place, why was it engraved on the base of the urn where it was totally invisible?

It is quite probable that there were Mithraic worshippers in Dijon, only 15 km from Les Bolards where a Mithraeum has been excavated, but, in view of the many difficulties presented by this inscription, the formal proof remains to be discovered.

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E. Thévenot, 'Le culte de Mithra chez les Eduens et leurs voisins', *Annales de Bourgogne*, XXI, 1949, pp. 257-9.

CIG, 6798.

CIL, XIII, 1047 (*falsae*).

CIMRM, I, 934.

59. *A votive stele from Mandeure (EPAMANDUDUORUM)*

Findspot : This monument was found in 1895-6 on the right bank of the river Doubs, to the left of the bridge and not far from the ancient theatre.

Height 62 cm, width 46.5 cm, thickness 20 cm, it carries the following inscription :

D(EO) I(NVICTO) M(ITHRAE) / PRO SALUTE SEXTI / [MA]-ENI[1] PUDENTIS

The text is framed by two volutes and surmounted by a moulded triangular pediment. The whole of the moulded base and part of the stem are missing so that the monument, when intact, must have measured 1.30 m high.

Origin of the dedicant : He bears the *nomen*, Maenius, of an old and distinguished Roman family;[2] the *cognomen*, Pudens, is one of a popular group expressing mental qualities (345 examples in *CIL*) and is not associated with any particular class or region.[3]

While there is a strong presumption in favour of the reading *D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)* for the letters *D.I.M.*, the Mithraic context of the inscription cannot be regarded as certain. Mandeure was a old Celtic settlement and a sanctuary of healing waters, and it could be that here, as elsewhere, Mithras was associated with divinities of healing springs, but no remains of a Mithraeum have been discovered and it would be imprudent to make any hypothesis on the basis of this single inscription.

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CIL, XIII, 11556.
MMM, II, Inscr. 422(a).
CIMRM, I, 939; II, 1324.

UNINSCRIBED MONUMENTS OF UNCERTAIN MITHRAIC CHARACTER

60. *A number of bronzes from Angleur*, now in the Musée Curtius at Liège.

Findspot : These bronzes were all found at Angleur in 1881, in a little cachette, hollowed out in the earth and forming a pocket in the brick clay.

They comprise the following pieces :

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[1] Vauthier gives [MAE]VI.

[2] W. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p. 185.

[3] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, pp. 68, 264.

a) Three small heads, height 18 cm, width 13 cm, thickness 1 cm, depicting bearded Wind-Gods, each with a wing on his head. A fourth god must have been lost. At the back of each is a little iron hook, used to secure the pieces in position.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(a), figs. 361-2; *CIMRM,* I, 955; II, fig. 258a.

b) Four small figures, also with the remains of iron hooks on the back, depicting signs of the zodiac : a ram, leaping to the left, height 9 cm, width 16 cm, thickness 4 cm; a lion, running towards the right, height 8 cm, width 16 cm, thickness 2 cm; a scorpion, height 17 cm, width 10 cm, thickness 2 cm; a fish, height 3.5 cm, width 15 cm, thickness 2.5 cm.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(b), figs. 363-6; *CIMRM,* I, 956; II, fig. 258b.

c) A very thin circular plaque, height 20 cm, width 19 cm, executed in *repoussé* work and depicting the head of Medusa, surrounded by snakes, whose tails are knotted under her chin and whose heads emerge from her winged head of hair. On the border of the plaque is a garland of elegant design, finely executed, and two bronze hooks, pierced with holes, have been welded onto the back.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(c), fig. 367; *CIMRM,* I, 957; II, fig. 258d.

d) Two statuettes, heights 24 cm and 20 cm, depicting young female dancers with flying cloaks; in their outstretched hands they held an object now lost. One of the statuettes has lost both head and arms. According to Cumont, these are two of a group of the four Hours, represented elsewhere by young dancing women, carrying flowers and fruit. The backs of the statuettes are left unworked and there are holes for a hook.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(d), figs. 368 & 9; *CIMRM,* I, 958; II, fig. 258e.

e) A completely finished statuette, height 18 cm, depicting a young man, wearing only a necklace, standing upright and supporting himself on his left leg, with his right leg slightly bent. His hands are stretched out, the thumbs of the right hand touching the index, and there are traces of welding at the back. This may be a representation of Apollo.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(e), fig. 370; *CIMRM*, I, 959; II, fig. 258c.

f) A statuette, height 12 cm, width 17 cm, depicting a standing lion with heavy mane, its right front paw lifted. Its open mouth is pierced with a hole, which connects with another hole in the stomach.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(f), fig. 371; *CIMRM*, I, 960.

g) A circular plaque, diameter 18 cm, depicting a lion's head, framed by a flat border. The mouth of the animal has been replaced by a rectangular opening, to which is connected a bronze pipe about 10 cm long. It obviously served as the mouth of a fountain.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(g), fig. 372; *CIMRM*, I, 961; II, fig. 258d.

h) Two fragments of a hollow statuette, height 14 cm, width 13 cm, of very thin bronze, depicting the head of a lioness, the mouth of which has disappeared. On the edge of the neck are holes which served to fix the statuette to another object.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(h), fig. 373; *CIMRM*, I, 962.

i) In addition, there were found fragments of a two-handled vase, height 7 cm, diameter at the top 8 cm and at the bottom 7 cm, and the mouth of a fountain.

Bibliography

MMM, II, 316(i-j); *CIMRM*, I, 963-4.

It is evident that these bronzes were deliberately hidden in the ground, and Cumont has noted that the iron attachments are broken and the fracture points completely oxidised, indicating that the pieces were pulled away from their former resting place. It is impossible to say where the bronzes originally came from, nor, indeed, can it be certain they all came from one place. Two different techniques are employed in their manufacture : one group, comprising the Wind-Gods, ram, running lion, fish, scorpion, and dancers, is executed in simple *appliqué* work, the other, the Medusa, lion's head, young man, pierced lion, and lioness, in more delicate *repoussé* work.

Cumont has suggested the interesting hypothesis that these pieces may have had a Mithraic context. Representations of the Wind-Gods appear both on several reliefs of Mithras as bull-slayer and on the representation of the cosmic birth from Trier (No. 39).[1] This latter relief also carries signs of the zodiac, found elsewhere between the coils of the snake on monuments depicting the Mithraic Saturn (as on the statue from Arles, No. 1) and, in mosaic, along the side benches of one of the Ostia Mithraea.[2] The pierced lion recalls that of Mithraeum II at Heddernheim, a sandstone statuette of a lion with an opening running from its mouth through its body, and a damaged lion from Mithraeum I at Carnuntum may well be of the same type.[3] Moreover, a lion is found in association with Medusa on a sandstone base, decorated with relief and found in Mithraeum III at Carnuntum.[4]

Of the figurines, the young female dancers have parallels in the similar representations on the impressive cult relief from Dieburg,[5] and a statuette of Apollo would certainly not be out of place in a Mithraic context; this god was often associated with Mithras.[6]

It seems reasonably certain that the lion's head with its rectangular opening and the lion with pierced mouth were both part of the decoration of a fountain (the mouth of a fountain was found in the same context), but the function of the other pieces remains uncertain. It could be that the representations of the Wind-Gods, the signs of the zodiac, the Medusa head, and the figurines of the dancers and young man were originally attached by hooks to a wall. It is tempting to suggest that they could have lined the wall of a Mithraeum, or, perhaps, have been attached to a cult relief.[7] The parallels already pointed out indicate that it would not be surprising to find any of these pieces in a Mithraic context, but, in the absence of definitive proof, this suggestion, though plausible, must remain conjecture only.

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[1] L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 162, 199.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 45, fig. 19; p. 47.

[3] *CIMRM*, II, 1112, fig. 287; 1667, fig. 425.

[4] *CIMRM*, II, 1694.

[5] *CIMRM*, II, 1247, fig. 324.

[6] Cf. above, p. 47, n. 6.

[7] Cf. the rather odd-looking piece from Sidon : *CIMRM*, I, 75, fig. 26.

General Bibliography

Tongrés, point de rencontre romain, 1958, p. 79, no. 252 & figs.
MMM, II, 316, figs. 361-73.
CIMRM, I, 954-964; II, fig. 258.

61. *Two statuettes from Boulogne-sur-Mer (GESORIACUM)*, now in the Musée des beaux arts et d'archéologie, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Inventory nos. 1187 and 1188 : see Pl. XXIX, kindly provided by M. R. Delagneau, curator of the museum.

Findspot : The statuettes were discovered at a depth of 25 feet during the digging of foundations for the Hôtel Dervaux, in about 1850. M. Delagneau has pointed out that this site is now occupied by the building at 87 Grande Rue, opposite the museum, and lies just outside the late third century ramparts of the Roman town, and near the Roman cemetery.[1] According to the reports, the two figures were unearthed in a small underground building, of which no remains now exist.

Of oolitic limestone from the Marquise district, height 57 and 59 cm, width 19 cm and 23 cm, they depict two figures standing, legs uncrossed, naked except for their Phrygian caps and a cloak draped over one arm. The right leg of no. 1188 is missing, and both statuettes have their arms broken and torches lost. At the back, the stone has been left unworked, indicating that the figures were intended to be seen from the front only.

The interpretation of the figures as Cautes and Cautopates is open to question; nudity is rare in Mithraic iconography, apart from the rock birth and the "*leontocéphale*", and there is no parallel for a pair of naked dadaphori. It is possible that the figures are, in fact, Dioscuri; the broken arms could well have held spears, corresponding to the broken line at the edge (especially 1187).[2] If, on the other hand, the arms were outstretched to hold torches, then Cautopates will have looked rather odd.

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[1] See E. Will, 'Les remparts romains de Boulogne-sur-Mer', *Revue du Nord*, 42, 1960, pp. 374-5, for a map showing the position of known ramparts and a hypothetical reconstruction of the remainder.

[2] Cf. the relief from the Walbrook Mithraeum : J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London 1962, p. 151, no. 61, pl. 69. The Mithraic context of this piece is perhaps doubtful.

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BJ, CXXIX, 1924, p. 87, no. 271.
MMM, II, 274, figs. 316-7.
CIMRM, I, 951, fig. 235.

62. *A fragment of a statuette from Rinxent*, formerly in the Musée des beaux arts et d'archéologie, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Inventory no. 4127, now lost.

M. Delagneau tells me that it was probably destroyed during the bombardments of the Second World War, when the museum suffered considerable damage.

Findspot : The fragment was found under the floor of the church at Rinxent, in about 1872.

Of local stone from the Marquise district, height 46 cm, width 43 cm, it depicted Luna in a *biga*. The only remnants preserved were the backs of the horses, the wheels of the front of the chariot, and the lower part of a female figure, clothed in a flowing robe, who leant forward, urging on the horses. Representations of Luna in her chariot appear quite frequently on Mithraic reliefs, but, in view of the fragmentary state of this monument, a Mithraic context cannot be asserted with any degree of probability.

Bibliography

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, V, p. 186, no. 3978 & fig.
BJ, CXXIX, 1924, p. 87, no. 271.
MMM, II, 274bis, fig. 318.
CIMRM, I, 952.

63. *A small figure of an "Aion" from the Auvergne*, whereabouts now unknown.

Cumont evidently had access to a description by Longpérier and quotes a reference to *BSAF*, X, 1868, p. 147. I was unable to find this reference but Cumont's comparison with the figure at Constantine [1] suggests that the Auvergne piece did exist and was possibly lion-headed. In the absence of further information its Mithraic interpretation must remain uncertain.

Bibliography
MMM, II, 326.
CIMRM, I, 892.

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 125, fig. 40 depicts a lion-headed figure, dressed in a tunic over which is a short mantle. It holds a key with both hands and, on either side of its feet, is depicted a ? pine-cone.

APPENDIX A

REJECTED MONUMENTS

a) A figure, of unknown origin, passed into the hands of M. Lombard-Dumas from the Emile Dumas collection, which apparently consisted only of objects from the Midi. Of local stone, height 35 cm, width 23 cm, thickness 14 cm, it depicts the naked seated figure of a possibly lion-headed person, with a pair of wings attached to its shoulders, and holding an indistinct object in its right hand. The fact that the figure is seated rules out the possibility of it being a Mithraic Kronos-Saturn. Moreover the lion's head is doubtful and there is not one identifiable attribute.

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CIMRM, I, 877.

b) A sepulchral inscription from Besançon (*VESONTIO*) mentioning a *mater sacrorum* is in no way associated with the cult of Mithras. Confusion over the inscription has led Espérandieu, amongst others, to mention Besançon as the site of a possible Mithraic sanctuary, a hypothesis for which there is no justification.

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CIMRM, I, 935.

c) In his report of 1935 on the fifth series of excavations at the Sources de la Seine (*SEQUANA*), M. Henri Corot puts forward the tentative suggestion that the débris of columns and series of stone blocks 10 m long, unearthed between the remains of baths to the south and a temple to the north, may have belonged to a Mithraeum. This hypothesis is abandoned in subsequent reports, and there is as yet no evidence that a Mithraeum existed on this site.

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E. Thévenot, *Annales de Bourgogne*, XXI, 1949, p. 257.
CIMRM, I, 936.

d) In his book, *Vichy gallo-romain*, A. Morlet suggests that the repeated finds of young bulls' horns in the second and third century burials at Vichy (*AQUAE CALIDAE*) indicate the presence of the cult of Mithras. He supports his argument by drawing attention to the discovery of a lion's head, which he compares with that found in the Mithraeum at Les Bolards. The lion is, however, frequently employed as a funerary symbol, and Lantier suggests that the bulls' horns should be connected not with the cult of Mithras but rather with the old superstitions attached to the stag. Stags' antlers were, it seems, a symbol of fertility, longevity, and immortality, and pieces were carried as amulets or placed in graves to assure immortality in the after-life. Several examples of this kind have been found at the Sources de la Seine, a sanctuary similar to that at Vichy, and it may well be that the bulls' horns found at Vichy have a similar significance. There is certainly no evidence that they were connected specifically with the cult of Mithras.

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A. Morlet, *Vichy gallo-romain*, Maçon 1957, pp. 287 ff., figs. 193-4.
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e) According to Sacaze, an altar from Soulan in the High Pyrenees had originally been transported from the cemetery to the Quartier de Carroutet, where it served as a pedestal to an iron cross. When Jullian saw the monument it lay forgotten in a corner of the school house. Of marble, height 41.4 cm, width 20 cm, thickness 14.5 cm, it carried an inscription which Sacaze read as follows :

> DEO MITR[AE] / FAUSTUS [ET] / MODESTA / V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO)

The letters were badly defaced and Sacaze suggested that the Christians had deliberately attempted to obliterate the inscription. He drew attention to a cave, near the present-day church, which had possible Mithraic significance. This interpretation has, however, been corrected by C. Jullian who, after a visit to the site, was able to assert that the cave was artificial, and shaded the public fountain. The letters of the inscription had been recently recut, following the scant traces of ancient letters, and read as follows :

DEO AC.T.C. / FAUSTUS / MODESTA / V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO)

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C. Jullian, *REA*, XIII, 1911, pp. 79-80.
CIL, XIII, 379.
MMM, II, Inscr. 511.
CIMRM, I, 883.

f) A damaged head from Thuilley-aux-Groseilles, see Pl. XXX, kindly provided by M. R. Billoret, was found by a peasant working in a field at Rouge-Manteau near Thuilley-aux-Groseilles. Of local limestone, height 30.5 cm, it is very badly damaged and heavily scored by plough marks. The report describes it as a head of Mithras, but it is more likely to be a Mercury,[1] and, in any case, is really too mutilated to permit adequate interpretation. It seems that, although a number of ancient remains have come to light from time to time in this and the surrounding area, no methodical excavation has ever taken place. The evidence provided by this single find must, therefore, remain inconclusive.

Bibliography

Gallia, XXVI, 1968, p. 370, fig. 11.

g) A low relief from Narbonne (*NARBO*) was found set into a wall at 9, Rue Michelet, close by the church of St. Sebastian. Cumont, following information received from W. Amelung, describes the badly damaged relief, height 1.47 m, as a torchbearer, standing cross-legged.

This seems to be the same monument as that described by E. Espérandieu as an Attis figure, in the traditional attitude of meditation and sadness. According to Espérandieu this monument, of local stone, height 1.44 m, width 50 cm, was taken from the Tour Moresque in 1639 and carried to the Carmelite Convent, where it was placed in a wall along the Rue Michelet. Despite the badly damaged state of the relief, the photograph provided by Espérandieu shows clearly that the figure, standing cross-legged, carries no torch, but instead rests his left hand under his chin and with the other supports his left elbow. In the light of this evidence there is no reason to suppose that the relief was in any way connected with the cult of Mithras. The figure (almost certainly an Attis) had obviously been used as building stone and incorporated in the mediaeval town wall, from whence it was transported to the Rue Michelet.

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[1] Cf. the head of Mercury from Cirencester : J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London 1962, p. 131, no. 19, pl. 29.

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Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, I, p. 396, no. 627 & fig.
MMM, I, 281bis.
CIMRM, I, 882.

h) The bronze handle of a knife is said by A. Blanchet to come from Narbonne, on the basis of the information written on the underside of the modern base of yellow Siennese marble upon which the object is mounted. This information reads *Eon (manche de couteau) trouvé près Narbonne*. Blanchet conjectures that this bronze is probably the same piece as that which appeared in the catalogue of the Pourtalès Gorgier collection in 1841. The catalogue gave no indication of origin. The bronze was still catalogued among the Pourtalès Gorgier collection at the time of the sale in February 1865. The copy of the 1865 catalogue in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has marginal comments which indicate that this "genuine and curious" object was sold for 72 francs. The bronze appeared in the collection Eugène Piot in 1890, and thereafter was not mentioned until A. Blanchet acquired it and reported his find to the Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. This bronze handle must be the same piece as that catalogued in the Vermaseren Corpus (*CIMRM*, I, 589) among monuments probably found at Rome but not preserved there. The latter, seen by Zoega at an antique dealer's in Rome, was, according to Lajard, acquired by the Comte Pourtalès Gorgier in 1845 and placed in his museum, where Lajard studied it. It must be that Lajard was mistaken about the date at which Pouratlès Gorgier acquired the bronze, for the various descriptions of the piece are remarkably similar.

Both catalogues of the Pourtalès Gorgier collection describe it as the bronze handle of a knife, height 11 cm, depicting an "Aion" with lion's head, his body surrounded by a serpent which places its head on that of the lion. The god has four wings and holds in his hands a dagger and key. According to the accounts of Zoega and Lajard, followed by Cumont, the bronze depicts a figure with the head of a lion and four wings. From the waist of the figure downwards the handle is rectangular in shape with, at its upper end, a guard in the shape of a ring of small shells. A serpent entwines itself three times round the handle and the body of the god, and its crested head rests upon that of the lion. The two hands of the figure, held against its chest, carry a key (left) and knife (right); Zoega interprets the latter as a torch. According to Lajard there is a thunderbolt between the jaws of the lion. The description and photograph provided by A. Blanchet agree with these earlier accounts and confirm that the god holds a thunderbolt in his mouth.

The "Deus Aeternus" or "Aion-Kronos" figure is well known in a Mithraic context, and the knife may well have been used in Mithraic ritual; one of the symbols of the *pater* grade was the curved knife or sickle of Saturn.

There is, however, no satisfactory information concerning the origin of this knife. It can be traced only to an antique dealer's in Rome. No indication of origin was given in the Pourtalès Gorgier catalogue, and the information giving Narbonne as the findspot must refer only to the recent history of the knife. There is no reason to suppose that the knife came originally from Narbonne.

Since the "torchbearer" found in the Rue Michelet cannot be ascribed to the cult of Mithras, there seems no reason to dispute the statement of Grenier in the *Carte archéologique de l'Aude* that no trace of the cult of Mithras has been found in Narbonne.[1] M. Yves Solier has kindly assured me that the situation has not been modified by recent research.

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[1] A. Grenier, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine, XII, Aude*, Paris 1959, p. 15.

F. Lajard, *Recherches*, p. 585.
Collection Eugène Piot, antiquités, vente de mai 1890. p. 16, no. 58.
A. Blanchet, 'Un bronze relatif au culte de Mithra', *BATH*, 1951-2, pp. 160, 331-4, pl. XXVI.
Fasti Archaeologici, IX, 1954, no. 4454.
MMM, II, 75.
CIMRM, I, 589; II, 882bis.

i) A statuette, now in the Art Museum, Princeton University, Inventory no. 342, is said to have come originally from Gaul. Of marble, height 60 cm, width 58 cm, it depicts Mithras as bull-slayer, in the usual attitude and attire. According to Espérandieu, who followed Elderkin's account, the statuette came originally from Vienne in the Rhône valley; it was then transferred to the Allan Marquand collection, and in 1925 was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Cumont, however, was of the opinion that the piece was found in Rome; in 1919 it was in Jandolo's gallery near the Roman forum, and then passed into the Allan Marquand collection. Dr. Follin-Jones has pointed out that there is no evidence that Allan Marquand ever owned the piece. The museum records at Princeton indicate that it was a recent acquisition at the time of Mr. Elderkin's publication in 1925, and was a gift made in memory of Allan Marquand who died in 1925. The museum has no dealer's receipt on file, but slight evidence suggests that the donor gave the money for the purchase rather than for the object itself. The piece was certainly never in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. As to the origin, there is no evidence to support Elderkin's statement that the statuette came from Vienne; it cannot therefore with any degree of probability be included amongst the Mithraic monuments from Roman Gaul.

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R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, pp.5, 12, pl. VI.
CIMRM, I, 605, fig. 173.

j) A marble head, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. G 44a : see Pl. XXXI, was presumed to have come from

Trier. Of coarse grained white marble, height 15.5 cm (length of the face 9.5 cm), it depicts a young man with thick curly hair which covers his ears and falls over his neck; on his head is a Phrygian cap. The sculpture, finished all the way round, has suffered considerable damage, the face being particularly mutilated, and the chin, most of the mouth, and the nose are lost. The nose had already been damaged and repaired in antiquity. On the evidence of sculptural technique Loeschcke places the date not earlier than the latter half of the second century. He draws attention, in particular, to the method of rendering the loose curls of hair by boring cylindrical holes in the head, a technique used particularly freely on that part of the work least likely to be seen by an observer, and therefore least meriting care and attention to detail. The costume and style of hair do not in themselves necessarily indicate a Mithraic context—they could have belonged to the figure of Mithras, one of the torchbearers, or an Attis, but Loeschcke suggests that the position of the head, inclined to the right, indicates that it belonged to the figure of Mithras in the act of slaying the bull. This, and the upturned glance, make a Mithraic interpretation fairly conclusive.

It is, however, by no means certain that the head came from Trier; it is most probably the same piece as that described by Cumont as the head of a young man in Phrygian cap with long curly hair, formerly in the collection of the Altertumsverein at St. Wendel.[1] This collection was subsequently transported to the museum at Trier. If these are the same pieces, then *CIMRM*, I, 993 = *CIMRM*, I, 999 and the place of origin lies outside Roman Gaul.

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S. Loeschcke, *TH*, 1925, p. 312, fig. 1.

Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, X, p. 176, no. 7536 & fig.

MMM, II, 322, fig. 382.

CIMRM, I, 993, 999.

k) A head, of red sandstone, depicting a young man wearing a Phrygian cap, is now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, but was found at

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[1] *MMM*, II, 313.

Fürth in 1730. Its place of origin therefore lies outisde Roman Gaul.

Bibliography

F. Hettner, *op. cit.*, no. 115.
MMM, II, 314, fig. 358.
CIMRM, I, 1000.

l) A number of commentators have connected a relief, discovered in 1889 on the site of the Walbrook Mithraeum, with Orange. The marble relief, depicting the bull-slaying scene, carries the following inscription :

> ULPI/US / SILVA/NUS / EMER/ITUS LEG(IONIS) / II AU-G(USTAE) / VOTUM / SOLVIT / FAC/TUS / ARAU/SIONE

Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee is of the opinion that the words *factus Arausione* indicate that the dedicant was initiated into the Mithraic grades at Orange, but E. & J. R. Harris note that there is no parallel for the use of *factus* with reference to Mithraic initiation, and the editors of *RIB* are also sceptical. A *sacerdos* is once said to be *creatus*,[1] though this may indicate a special concession, and in the lines of verse in the S. Prisca Mithraeum *renatum* and *creatum* occur in a context suggestive of initiation.[2] If *factus* does not refer to Mithraic initiation then there is nothing spec - fically to connect Orange with the cult; the man may have joined in London.

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RIB, p. 1, no. 3, pl. II.
R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden 1972, p. 20.
MMM. II, 267, fig. 304, Inscr. 471.
CIMRM, I, 810-811, fig. 218.

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[1] *CIMRM*, II, 2008.

[2] M.J. Vermaseren & C.C. van Essen, *S. Prisca*, p. 207, line 11, fig. 68; cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca II* : *The Mithraeum at Ponza*, Leiden 1974, pp. 29 f.

APPENDIX B

MITHRAIC REPRESENTATIONS ON POTTERY

FRAGMENTS FROM THE WORKSHOPS AT LEZOUX

1. *A large fragment of a jar*, now in the Archaeological Museum at Lezoux, found on the site of a pottery workshop.

Of red colour-coated ware, height 25 cm, diameter at its widest point 23 cm (diameter of the neck 13 cm, of the foot 8.5 cm), it is of the type Dragendorff-Déchelette 72, an ovoid without handles manufactured *au tour*. The body of the vessel is divided into two sections by a double horizontal line, the lower section smooth, the upper section decorated with reliefs ending at the base of the neck. The decoration that has been preserved comprises several motifs, framed by a border composed of dotted lines and leaf patterns executed *en barbotine*. A large central motif represents Mithras as bull-slayer. The god, his left knee on the bull's back, plunges his dagger into the animal's neck, and the dog, usually portrayed in the act of stretching out to lick the blood from the wound, is figured by a motif added afterwards *en barbotine*. Beneath the bull, an indistinct motif may have represented the serpent. On either side of the central motif are smaller figures. To the left is a torchbearer standing cross-legged, his torch raised;[1] he is clothed in a short tunic decorated with a fringe and a cloak, clasped on his left shoulder. To his left again are two motifs, the first representing a goddess seated in an armchair, carrying in her left hand a (?) *patera* and in her right a *cornucopiae*, the second possibly depicting another cross-legged torchbearer, but rather indistinct. Another figure of this type appears to the right of the central motif, and is described by Vertet as *dieu sylvestre jouant de la syrinx*. Beside it is a second goddess of abundance, seated and holding a *cornucopiae*.

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[1] This is unusual; the torchbearer on the left of Mithras was more commonly portrayed with his torch lowered: cf. L.A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* Leiden 1968, pp. 30 f., 81 f.

Near the vessel was found a mould with the representation of the goddess Epona.

Dating : This jar has been dated by Déchelette to the early third century A.D., on the basis of a dated find from Rheims, where a vessel of this type was discovered in a coffer, its mouth covered with a small clay vessel in which was found a coin of Commodus struck between A.D. 185 (when he took the title of Britannicus) and his death in A.D. 192. Among the offerings associated with the jar was a glass flagon, a well-known industrial type of the third century.

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A. Vertet, *RAEst*, X, 1959, p. 329, n. 2.
A, Vertet, 'Les représentations mithriaques sur les vases d'argile en Gaule', '*Actes du 88^e congrès national des sociétés savantes Clermont-Ferrand 1963*, Paris 1965, pp. 124-5, figs. 3-5.
J.-J. Hatt, *Les celtes et les gallo-romains*, Genève 1970, p. 277.
CIMRM, II, 908 C, 1, fig. 257.

2. *A stamp, used in the fabrication of moulds for the appliqué reliefs*, found in the same pottery workshops. Of pinkish, slightly porous clay, rectangular in shape, it reproduces the details of the bull-slaying scene. The stylised cloak of the god is blown out into the form of a *rosace*, a commonly found solar symbol. A small projection on the back has a hollow imprint for the thumb and index finger. This stamp bears no artist's mark, but appears to have been used in the fabrication of the *appliqué* relief on the vessel described above.

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H. Vertet, *Actes du 88^e congrès national des sociétés savantes Clermont-Ferrand 1963*, Paris 1965, p. 127, fig. 7.
CIMRM, II, 908 C, 2.

3. *A mould for a relief*, found in the same workshops. The preserved fragment depicts the lower part of a torchbearer, his legs crossed, but the mould is broken from the base of the tunic upwards. To the right is an indistinct object. This mould does not appear to match any of the torchbearers depicted on the vessel described above, which suggests that

the workshops must have contained several different moulds of the torchbearer type.

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H. Vertet, *RAEst.* X, 1959, p. 329, n. 2.
CIMRM, II, 908 C, 3.

FRAGMENTS FROM ALISE-SAINTE-REINE *ALESIA*)

4. *Fragment of red terra sigillata*, now in the museum of the Société des sciences de Semur at Alise-Sainte-Reine : see Pl. XXXII, kindly provided by Mlle. F. Grand.

Findspot : According to Espérandieu, the fragment was found in the water channel which crosses the tri-apsidal building, and seems to run towards a pit, situated to the north of the portico of the temple. To the north of the water channel lies the double colonnade with its row of shops.

Of well baked red ware, with a dull red gloss, height 7.3 cm, width 7.5 cm, it was probably part of a shallow dish, and carries the relief of a torchbearer in Phrygian costume, a cloak clasped on his left shoulder. He originally held his torch raised, but the potter suppressed this part of the moulded relief, replacing it by another arm holding the torch downwards.[1] One may still discern the shoulder and the top of the left arm which lay originally at his side. The left arm and torch were added by hand, and, in order to produce a representation of the flame, the potter used a point to cut three notches at the end of the torch turned towards the ground. To the right of the torchbearer is a fragment of *appliqué* work which may be the end of Mithras' flying cloak. The relief is rather indistinct, the features of the face are barely visible, and it is probable that it comes from a motif, several times moulded and overmoulded.

Bibliography

See following item, No. 5.

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[1] This alteration is interesting in that it represents a correction to the more usual position; cf. above, p. 38, n. 1.

5. *A bowl in red terra sigillata*, now in the museum at Alise-Sainte-Reine : see Pl. XXXIII, kindly supplied by Mlle. F. Grand. The museum at St. Germain-en-Laye possesses a cast of this bowl, Inventory no. 51.279 : see Pl. XXXIV, kindly provided by Mlle. Catherine Metzger, curator of the museum.

Findspot : The bowl comes from the same findspot as the preceding fragment.

Of pale red ware, with matt gloss, height 4.4 cm, diameter of the top 18 cm and of the base 6 cm, it is decorated on the inside with a relief, executed entirely *en barbotine*, depicting the bull-slaying scene. The whole scene is surrounded by a border of foliage, composed of a curved leaf motif together with discontinuous dotted lines. The god, in Phrygian cap, wearing a long-sleeved tunic, *anaxyrides*, and cloak billowing out behind, has his left knee on the rump of the bull and his right leg stretched out against the bull's side. The animal's tail ends in three ears. Of the animals which normally accompany the bull-slaying scene, the scorpion and serpent are very indistinct; the latter is probably represented by a filiform line visible beneath the group. A dog is visible at the right-hand side, stretched out to lick the blood from the wound, and the god gazes back over his right shoulder, probably towards the raven, now lost. On either side of the scene stand the two torchbearers, both cross-legged.

It is striking that both these pottery fragments were found amongst débris in a gutter running near the colonnade which was the centre of commercial activity in the town. Here, imported pottery of this kind was bought and sold for use by the wealthier local inhabitants.

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CIMRM, I, 937; 938.
No. 5 only :
S. Loeschcke, 'Mithrasdenkmäler aus Trier', *TH*, 1925, p. 327, fig. 15.
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A NUMBER OF POTTERY FRAGMENTS FROM TRIER (*AUGUSTA TREVERORUM*)

6. *Several fragments, found in the Ziegelstrasse, in the neighbourhood of the pottery workshops, near the southern wall of the Roman town.*

(a) Two fragments, found in 1893 and 1907, and now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inv. nos. 19630 and 07.723, together form a large round stamp, 14 cm in diameter.

Of slate-grey ware, it has on the back the remains of a handle, and on the front a relief, portraying the bull-slaying scene. Preserved are the god, his left knee on the bull's back, and his head turned over his shoulder, the snake, the dog and the front part of the bull, and, to the right, the bust of Luna, with, beneath it, the upper part of a torchbearer. The remainder of the scene is lost, but, between the busts of Sol (lost) and Luna, is visible the arch of the cave with, above it, an indistinct object which may be an altar flame.

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S. Loeschcke, 'Mithrasdenkmäler aus Trier', *TH*, 1925, pp. 320-1, fig. 10.
E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 115, fig. 253.
CIMRM, I, 994.

(b) A round earthenware stamp, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. G.F. 506 : see Pl. XXXV, kindly provided by Dr. Wolfgang Binsfeld.

Of self-coloured, red ware, diameter 9.5 cm, it has on the back a handle, height 2 cm, and on the front a relief depicting a lion with head and tail raised, facing to the right, with, in the background, five ears of corn (or possibly a palm tree), the stem of which is visible beneath his body. In front of the lion is a bull's head, and behind him an object, hanging from a horizontal branch, possibly a cluster of grapes or perhaps a pine-cone.

Loeschcke claims that this scene has Mithraic significance, on the grounds that a lion is commonly depicted on Mithraic cult reliefs, beneath the bull-slaying scene. Moreover, on numerous Mithraic reliefs, the tail of the bull ends in a bundle of corn ears and, on several, foliage sprouts over the roof of the cave. This seems to have symbolised the vegetation generated by the death of the bull. This interpretation, cannot, however, be regarded as conclusive.

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CIMRM, I, 995.

7. *Three fragments from the potters' workshops on the former Horst-Wessel Ufer, (now Pacelli Ufer) on the right bank of the Moselle.*

(a) A terracotta relief plaque, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. S.T. 14724 : see Pl. XXXVI.

The large circular relief, 19.5 cm in diameter, has been cast from a mould. It depicts the bull-slaying scene, with Mithras, in traditional costume, accompanied by the two torchbearers, the dog, lion, snake and scorpion, and, above the scene, the busts of Sol and Luna. Other finds, made at the same time, include similar reliefs depicting a Mother Goddess with a child, and the head of Achelous.

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E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier,* Mainz 1972, p. 115, fig. 255.

(b) A fragment of a dome-shaped mould, with part of the edge. The preserved fragment depicts part of the bull-slaying scene, with the head and right upper arm of Mithras, his cloak billowing out behind, and, above his right shoulder, the raven. Also preserved are the tail of the bull, the head of Sol, and the upper part of Cautes.

Bibliography

S. Loeschcke, *TZ*, XI, 1936, p. 224, no. III B.

(c) A terracotta relief from the St. Barbara Ufer, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, (Raum II Vitr. 63), Inventory no. 35.289 : see Pl. XXXVII.

Of an irregular, triangular shape, height 11.5 cm, the piece has been cast from a mould. It depicts the bull-slaying, but neither the torchbearers nor the usual animals are present. It appears to be from a matrix used in the fabrication of vessels with *appliqué* reliefs, and has been dated to the fourth century A.D.

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E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 115, fig. 256.

8. *Two fragments of pottery, found in the railway cutting near Schutzenstrasse, not far from the main temple site*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. 13.873 : see Pl. XXXVIII.

These fragments belong to a plate of red ware, height 4.5 cm, diameter excluding the rim 19 cm and with the rim 24 cm, decorated on the inside with a relief. One fragment depicts the front part of a bull, the other the hind part of a lion, and the rim is decorated with linear design. Loeschcke suggests that this relief has Mithraic significance, but the preserved pieces are too fragmentary to permit any certain identification with the Mithraic cult.

Bibliography

S. Loeschcke, *TH*, 1925, p. 326, fig. 14.
CIMRM, I, 996.

9. *A pottery dish from the Roman cemetery, situated to the south of Trier, near the Abbey of St. Matthias*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inventory no. 05.228 : see Pl. XXXIX.

Of red ware, with a dull gloss, height 4.5 cm, diameter 17.5 cm, diameter of the base 5 cm, it suggests a variety of late *terra sigillata.* The dish is decorated, on the inside, with a relief depicting the sacred meal of Sol and Mithras. Sol, in radiate crown, and Mithras, in Phrygian cap, both wearing cloaks clasped over their right shoulders, are reclining at a table, on which are placed three loaves and a dish containing a flat object which could be a fish. In his right hand Sol holds a drinking horn, while Mithras prepares to receive his drinking horn from the hand of an acolyte. A second acolyte, to the right, holds in his left hand a serviette, while with the right he offers a round loaf of bread. Beneath this scene are depicted a crouched lion, and, in the lowest section of the relief, a large *krater* round which coils a snake. To the right and left of this vessel stand a raven and a cock. According to Loeschcke and Cumont, the snake, bowl, lion, and birds represent the four elements earth, water, fire and air.[1]

It may well be that this dish was produced for the use of the Mithraic community at Trier; the relief is certainly an unusual and detailed representation of a scene from the Mithraic cycle. A small hook at the back of the dish probably served to attach it to a wall.

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S. Loeschcke, *TH*, 1925, pp. 322 ff., fig. 12.
F. Saxl, *Mithras, typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1931, p. 20, fig. 61.
F. Cumont, *RA*, 1946, p. 189, fig. 3.
E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 115, fig. 254.
CIMRM, I, 988, fig. 238.

9A. *Fragment of an earthenware dish with relief decoration, found in the Altbachtal Mithraeum,* now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Inv. no. S.T. 9983.

Of reddish brown ware, originally 16 cm in diameter, it carries a representation of a torchbearer, with torch raised (Cautes).

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[1] Cf. also M. J. Vermaseren, *Mnemosyne*, IV, 1951, p. 289, n. 8.

Bibliography

E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, p. 115, fig. 251.

10. *Three vessels with inscriptions, from the Altbachtal*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier.

(a) A cylindrical beaker with the inscription DEO REGI INVICTO in white barbotine, Inv. no. F. 6957, was found in the rubbish of the Mithraeum, with coins from A.D. 270 to the end of the fourth century.

(b) A similar beaker of red ware with the inscription DEO IN[VICTO] in white barbotine, Inv. no. S.T. 11735, was found amidst débris on the floor of a cellar in the southern part of dwelling house A. With it were a number of coins from Antoninus Pius to Gratian. Height 7 cm, diameter 7 cm, only the upper part is preserved.

(c) A cantharos with the inscription DE[O INVIC]TO, Inv. no. 17.434a, was found in 1917 during the excavation of the potters' workshops near the then St. Matthias Ufer (now Pacelli Ufer).

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S. Loeschcke, *TZ*, VII, 1932, p. 168, fig. 2.
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TWO FRAGMENTS WITH RELIEFS, OF UNCERTAIN MITHRAIC CHARACTER

11. *Fragment of a dish from Clermont Ferrand*, now in the museum at Clermont Ferrand.

Of self-coloured ware, the fragment depicts a torchbearer, wearing a Phrygian cap and standing cross-legged, with torch raised. Part of the rim of the dish is also preserved.

Bibliography

H. Vertet, *RAEst*, X, 1959, p. 331, n. 2.
H. Vertet, *Actes du 88^e^ congrès national des sociétés savantes Clermont-Ferrand 1963*, Paris 1965, p. 122, no. 2, fig. 2.

12. Espérandieu, following information received from F. Cumont, has cited another fragment, depicting a torchbearer, which should have been at Vienna in the Archaeological Seminary of the University. Vertet has made inquiries concerning this fragment through the intermediary of Prof. Hedwig Kenner but no trace of it can be found.

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CIMRM, I, 905.

TWO FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN GALLIC ORIGIN

13. According to Pagenstecher, in the museum at Calena there is a fragment of pottery, said to come from Gaul, which depicts the head of Mithras, part of his flying cloak and above it a fork-shaped object, possibly a scorpion's tail.

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R. Pagenstecher, *Jahrbuch der deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XXVII, 1912, p. 171 f.
CIMRM, I, 1002.

14. The museum at Gap has a bowl of red-slipped ware, with a flat edge, on which is engraved DEO INVICTO MYTRAE VASSA DECEM TERTIUS RUSTICI V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) L(AETUS) M(ERITO). It was bought by H. Muller in 1920, then acquired in 1932 by M. Georges de Manteyer, who gave it to the museum at Gap on 12 September 1934. The collection of antiquities of which it was part belonged originally to an architect who had stayed at Vienne, Valence, Montélimar, and Avignon. M. Paul Aimès, Conservateur of the Musée Départmental des Hautes-Alpes at Gap, thinks that it came from Bourg St. Andéol, but according to Lajard, whose information was followed by *CIL* and *CIMRM*, though slightly suspected by Cumont, the bowl was found at Rheinzabern.

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CIMRM, II, 1302.

A Possible Mithraic Representation on Lead

15. *Part of a late Roman lead sarcophagus from Saint-Auban (Basses Alpes)*, now in the museum at Digne, cat. no. 863 : see Pl. XL, kindly provided by M. André Dumoulin, curator of the museum, was discovered in 1916, at a depth of about 1 m, in the terraces on the right bank of the Durance at Château-Arnoux (quartier de Courtieu). It was given to the museum at Digne in 1920 by the Compagnie des Produits Chimiques d'Alès et de la Camargue, usine de St. Auban.

Length 1 m, height 63 cm, thickness 1 cm, it is unfortunately incomplete, but the preserved decoration comprises several motifs. These are as follows, from top to bottom :

i. a row of wolf teeth;
ii. a frieze with the motif of a lyre surrounded by a garland, held aloft by two Genii;
iii. a figure, clothed in a tunic and wearing a cloak, with beneath him, a small bowl from which issue flames, and to each side of the bowl an animal — on the left a horse and on the right a lion;
iv. (alternating horizontally with the preceding motif) an eagle, with wings outstretched, his talons resting on a circular motif dissected by twelve radiating lines (? a wheel);
v. a capricorn with the tail of a sea serpent, framed in a rectangular border of dotted lines.

The interpretation of these reliefs has aroused considerable discussion. Comte Henri de Gérin-Ricard is of the opinion that the preserved sheet of metal formed part of a lead sarcophagus, and he interprets the enigmatic figure depicted above the bowl and animals as a Gallic divinity. Benoit describes this figure as clothed in a tunic and Gallic breeches, wearing on his head a wolf's skin, and carrying in his right hand the vase or *olla* of the god.[1] He interprets the motif to one side of the figure as the sign S, the thunderbolt of Jupiter, and in consequence regards the figure as a Hercules-Dispater-Taranis, supporting his argument by interpreting the alternating motif as the wheel of Jupiter, surmounted by the eagle of the Capitoline god.

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[1] The motif on the right arm of the figure seems more likely to have been a bird.

Vertet has taken issue with this interpretation and produced a totally new argument, claiming that the reliefs are intended as Mithraic representations, and that the lead fragment is not part of a sarcophagus but may have been intended to decorate the walls of a coffer containing the sacred implements of the cult of Mithras. The figure above the bowl he interprets as a Phrygian, and compares it with Déchelette types 92 and 92a, which are employed as motifs on the vases from Lezoux decorated with *appliqué* reliefs.[1] The motif to the side of the figure he interprets not as a thunderbolt but as a trace of the border decoration of leaves, executed *en barbotine*, which commonly frames the motifs on the Lezoux vases, and he suggests that a fragment of a vase was used to stamp the figure in the mould. These arguments are, however, insecure on several counts. Professor Toynbee has suggested that the ornament on lead work of this type was produced by a series of positive stamps, most probably carved in wood, which were impressed into a bed of wet sand. The mould thus obtained was then filled with molten metal.[2] It does not seem likely that fragments of a vase were employed. Even if the type of this figure were influenced by the motifs cited by Déchelette, there is no guarantee that these were connected in any way with Mithraic representations. The types 92 and 92a were not found in a Mithraic context; type 92, found in a funerary well in Bernard (Vendée), was associated only with a fragment depicting a person wearing a *chlamys*.[3] What is more, it is certainly a completely different figure from that of the torchbearer in Phrygian cap, his legs crossed and torch raised, which appears on the jar from Lezoux decorated with a relief depicting the bull-slaying scene.

Vertet has concluded his argument by asserting that the motif, interpreted by Benoit as the wheel connected with the thunderbolt of Jupiter, should instead be seen as the solar symbol of Sol Invictus. The interpretation of the wheel has long been a point of controversy, since it seems to alternate with the thunderbolt in the hands of Jupiter cavalier and is associated with an eagle, thus appearing to be an attribute of Jupiter, but also, on funerary reliefs, evidently represents the sun. It may, in fact, have had a dual significance, as suggested by J.-J. Hatt [1] but, what is more significant, it is a symbol used regularly in funerary art, and this in itself is sufficient explanation for its presence on a sarcophagus.

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[1] J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, II, Paris 1904, p. 219, nos. 92, 92a.

[2] J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, Oxford 1964, pp. 345-6.

[3] J. Déchelette, *op. cit.*, II, Paris 1904, p. 208, no. 60 : *satyre nu, debout, tenant un pedum et une syrinx*; Abbé F. Baudry and Léon Ballereau, *Puits funéraires gallo-romains du Bernard*, La Roche-sur-Yon 1873, p. 176, figs. 1-2.

Professor Toynbee has wisely pointed out that the presence of a lion motif on a sarcophagus in no way implies that the deceased was a follower of Mithras.[2] The lion is a familiar funerary motif. A pair of lions, guarding a vase, are depicted several times on the lid of a lead sarcophagus found in Kent. This motif portrays a pair of lions standing face to face with, between them, a single-handled jug from which issue two torches.[3] Finds of lead sarcophagi in France confirm the use of a lion motif in funerary decoration. At Milhaud, near Nîmes, on the edge of the Roman road from Montpellier to Nîmes, there was found in 1836 a lead sarcophagus, one side of which is decorated with low reliefs depicting two winged griffins marching from right to left and two lions going in the same direction. Between a lion and griffin is a group of two Genii holding between them a vine tree.[4] A lion, guardian of a funerary urn, is depicted on a lead sarcophagus found at Cîteaux,[5] and a number of lions are represented on the lid of a lead sarcophagus from Metz.[6] Thus the motif on the sarcophagus from St. Auban, depicting a lion and horse on either side of a large vase, reflects a common funerary symbolism. The horse also appears regularly in a funerary context,[1] and this scene need in no way be connected with the Mithraic group of serpent, *krater*, and lion.[2] The motif of the marine creature, visible along the lower edge of the sarcophagus, is not uncommonly found on sarcophagus reliefs, alluding, as it does, to the voyage of the deceased across the ocean. Indeed, the sarcophagus from Metz is decorated with marine creatures.

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[1] J.-J. Hatt, 'Rota Flammis Circumsepta', *RAEst*, 1951, pp. 82-7.

[2] J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, Oxford 1964, p. 349, criticises the opinion of Mrs. L. Murray Threipland, *Ant. Journ.*, XXXIII, 1953, pp. 72-4, fig. 1, pl. XVII, that a lead sacrophagus found at Cefn On in Glamorgan should have been that of a Mithraic worshipper on the evidence of a representation of a lion which decorated part of the sacrophagus.

[3] *Arch. Cant.*, IX, 1874, pp. 168-70, figs. 3-7 & plate on p. 167; C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, VII, 1880, pp. 184-6 & fig.

[4] C. Roach Smith, *op. cit.*, III, p. 58.

[5] E. Thévenot, 'Un débris de sarcophage en plomb historié trouvé en forêt de Cîteaux (Côte d'or)', *RA*, 1950, i, pp. 86-91, fig. 2.

[6] Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, V, p. 432, no. 4385 & figs.

In conclusion, there is no reason to suppose that any of the symbols present on this lead sarcophagus were intended to have Mithraic significance. They belong to a repertoire of funerary symbols to be seen on examples of lead sarcophagi, found elsewhere in Gaul, Germany, and Britain.

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H. Vertet, 'Un nouveau document mithriaque', *RAEst*, X, 1959, pp. 324 ff., fig. 68-9.

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[1] F. Benoit, *L'art primitif méditerranéen de la vallée du Rhône*, nouvelle édition, Aix-en-Provence 1955, p. 28.

[2] For this group see E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, p. 405, fig. 72.

ADDENDUM

Mithraeum at Les Bolards (Nuits St. Georges)

The results of the renewed work on the site of the Mithraeum at Les Bolards have now been published[1] and give much more precise information on the dimensions of the cult room and the building material employed. The cult room measures, internally, 8 m × 5.50 m and its walls are of regular, well cut blocks of stone. The three steps which lead down into the central nave are of unequal length and width, averaging 1.50 m × 30 cm. Two of the steps are of a pinkish buff coloured limestone, probably from the quarries at Premeaux, several kilometres to the south of Nuits St. Georges. The central nave is about 3 m wide with side benches 50 cm high and 1.25 m wide. In front of the back wall are three blocks of stone, resting on a plinth, length 1.50 m, width 45 cm, and height 40 cm. These may well have carried the representation of the bull-slaying scene, and it is not far from this spot that the two heads clothed in Phrygian caps (No. 25, b), the hoof of a bull (No. 25, e), and fragments of an inscription (cf. p. 12) were found in 1948. The floor of the *pronaos* is covered with a destruction layer containing a quantity of tiles and limestone blocks, some of them moulded. 1 m outside the south wall, near the south-west angle of the cult room, the remains of a small well, diameter 70 cm, have been discovered. Two other rooms, discovered to the south-west of the Mithraeum and bordered on the south by a long curved wall, may have been associated with the cult room.

The coins, unearthed in the recent excavations, seem to confirm occupation in the third and fourth centuries.

The monuments dicovered in the earlier excavations are illustrated as follows :

No. 22	fig. on p. 55.
No. 23	fig. on p. 55.
No. 24	fig. on p. 57.
No. 25, a, c, d	figs. on p. 61.
No. 25, b	figs. on pp. 58, 61.

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[1] E. Planson, A. Lagrange, A. Minot, P. et L. Hérard, 'Le Mithraeum des Bolards à Nuits-Saint-Georges', *Archéologia*, 54, janvier 1973, pp. 55-63 & pl. opp. p. 55.

ERRATUM

p. 94, lines 2-4 should read:

> only d) e) and perhaps b) are specifically Mithraic but the small female head is reminiscent of finds made in the Sarrebourg Mithraeum (No. 38, e).

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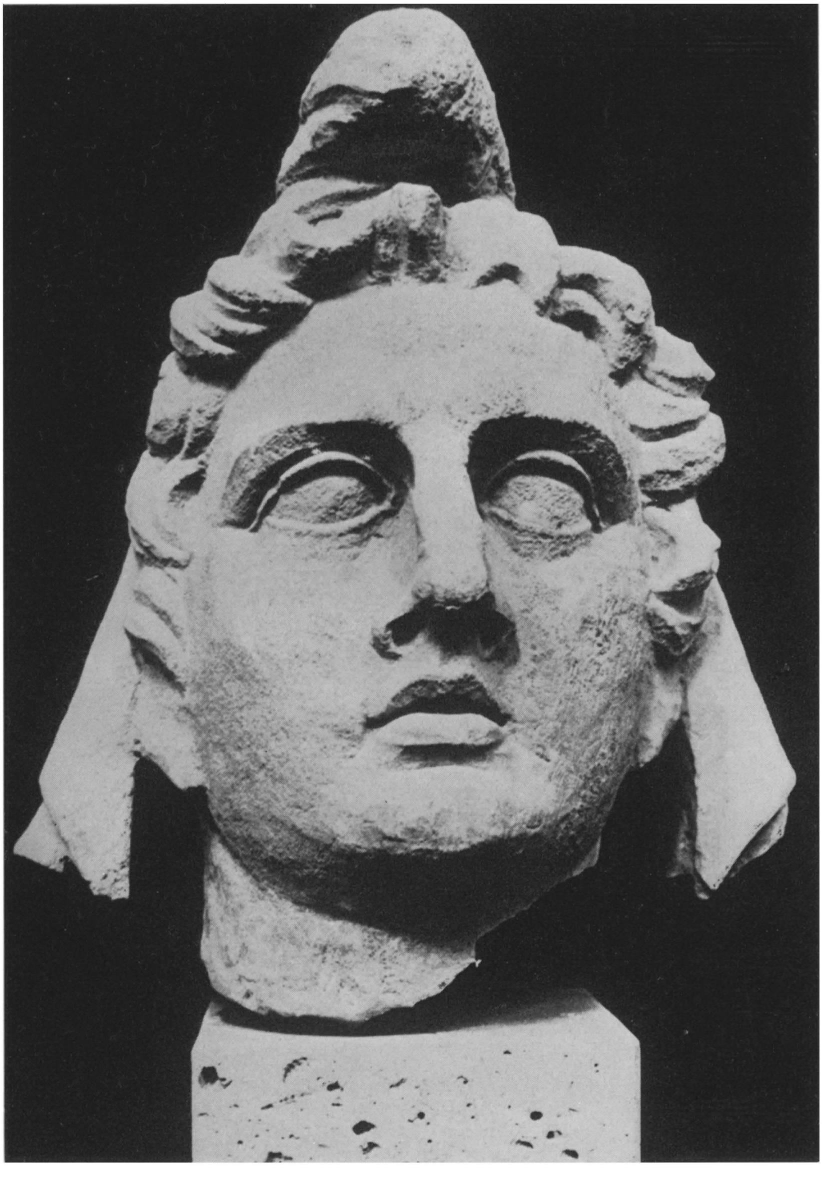

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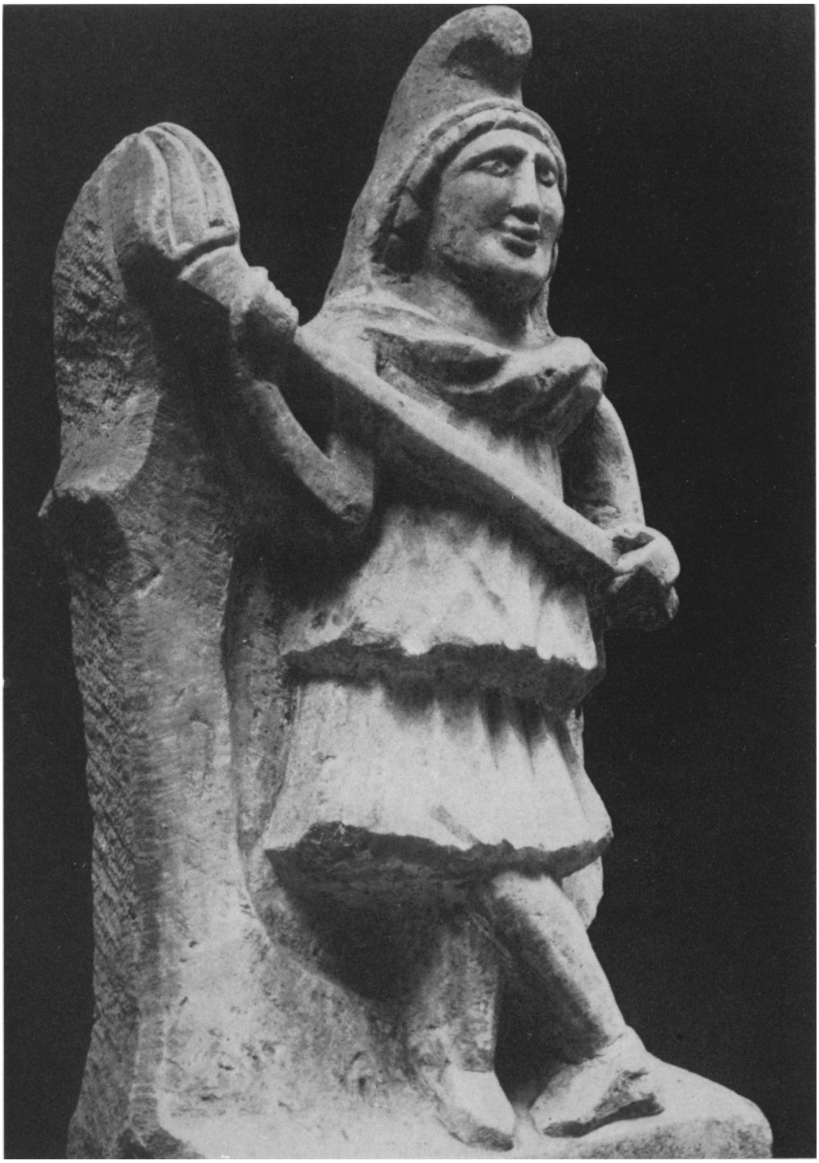

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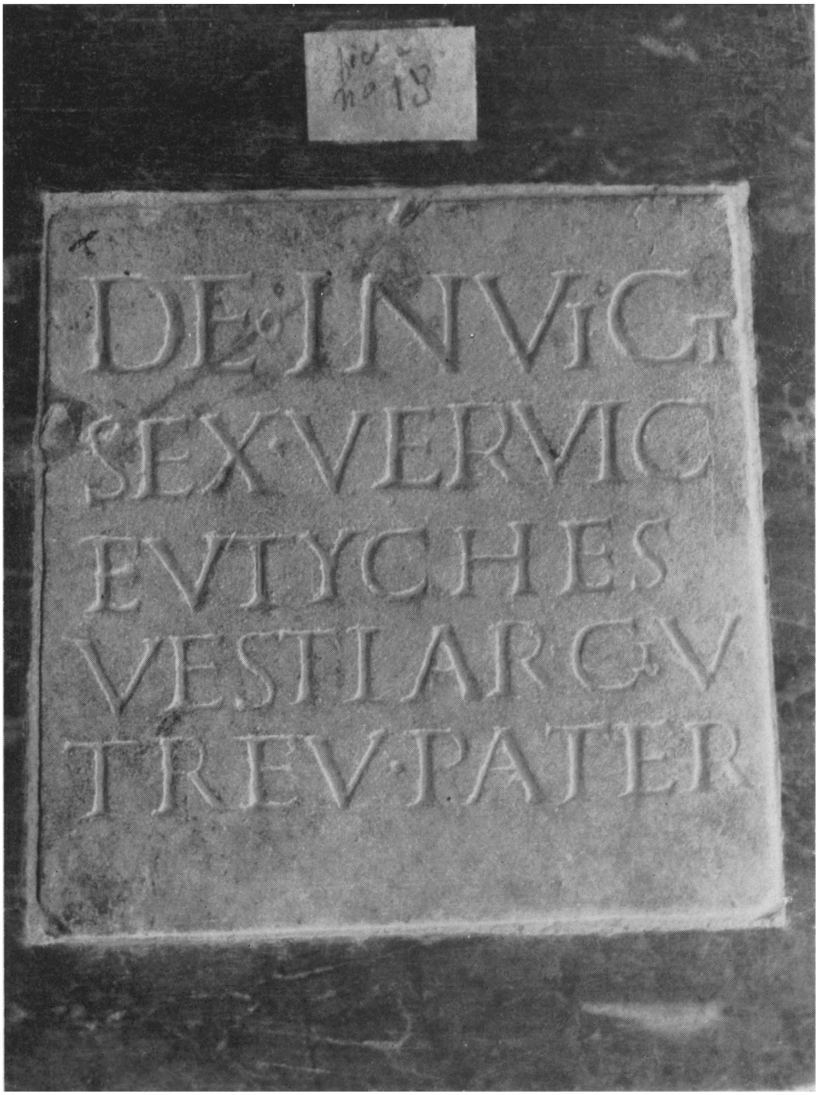
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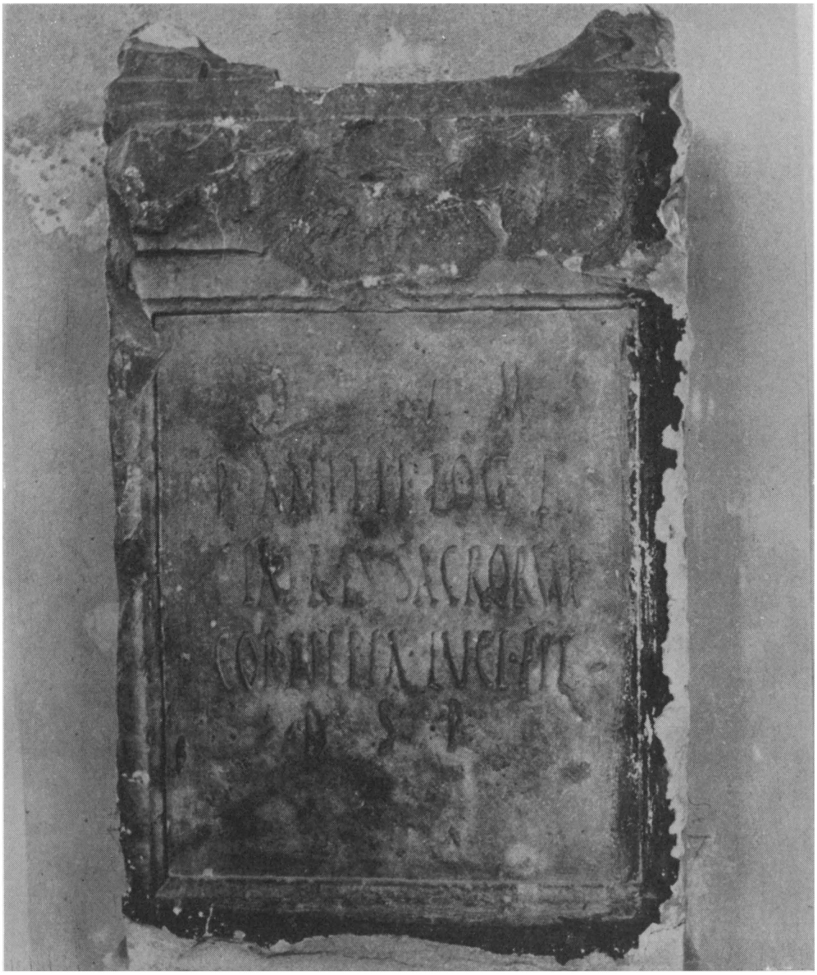

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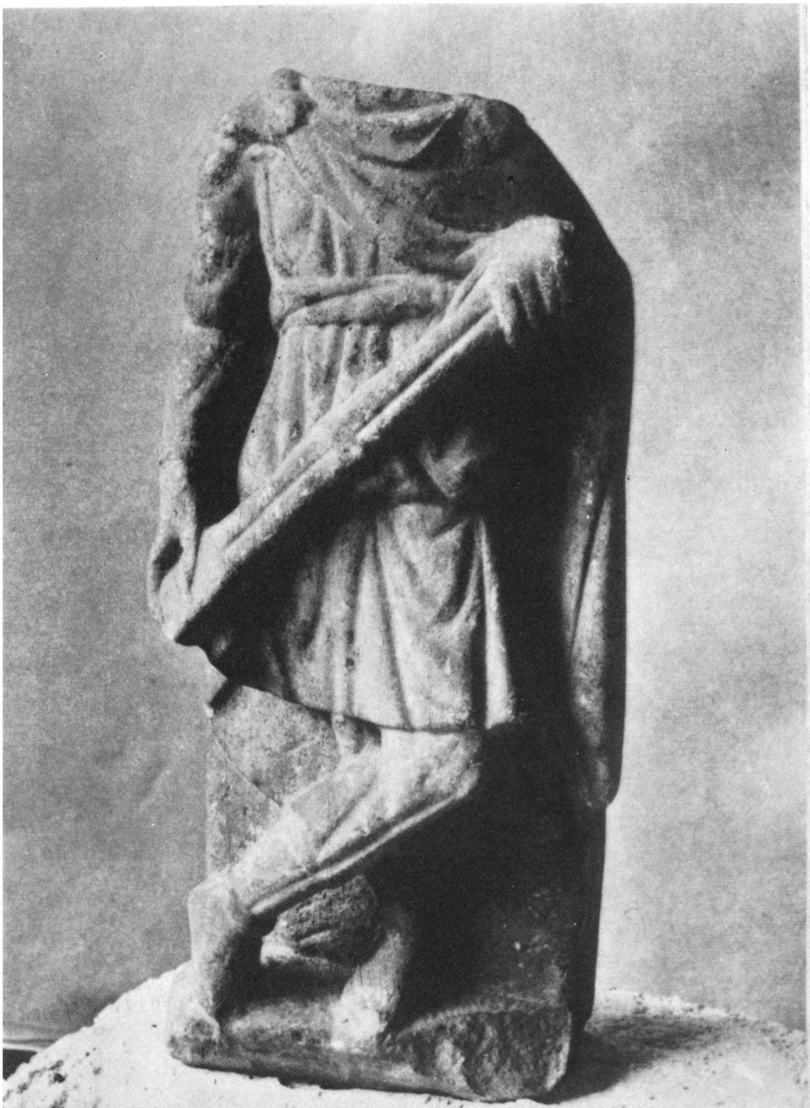

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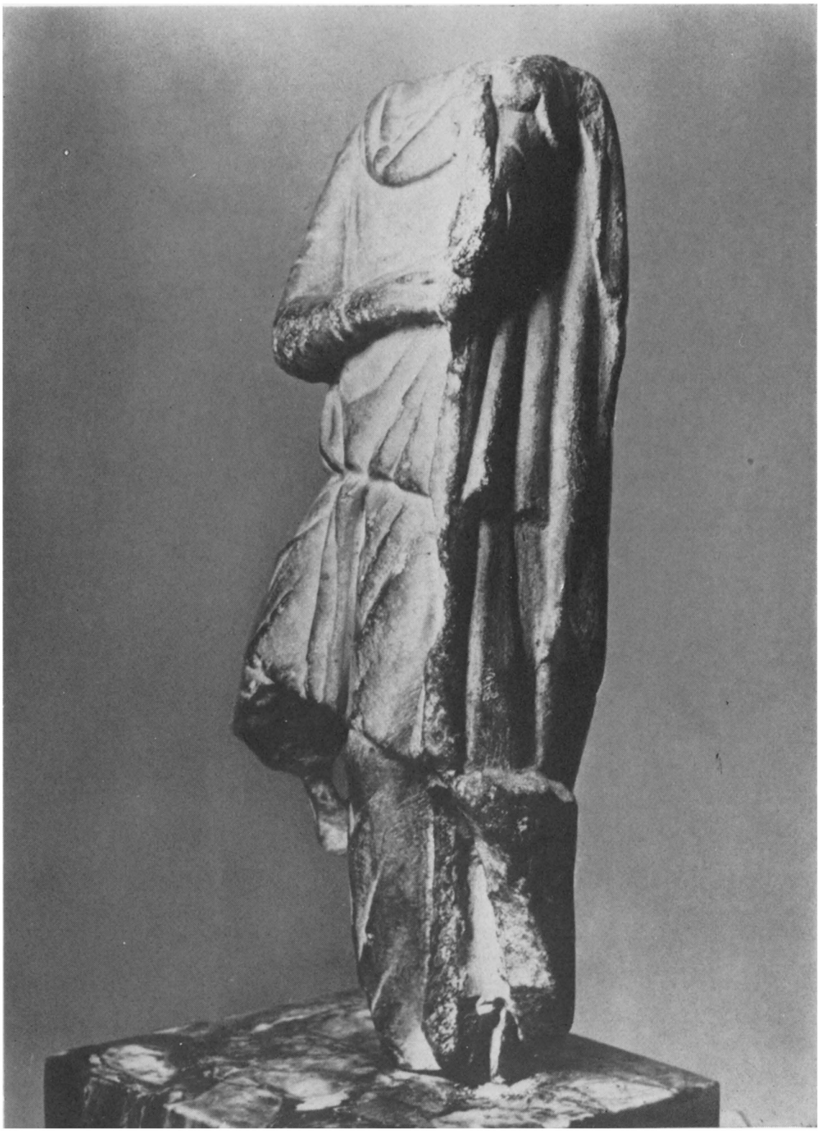

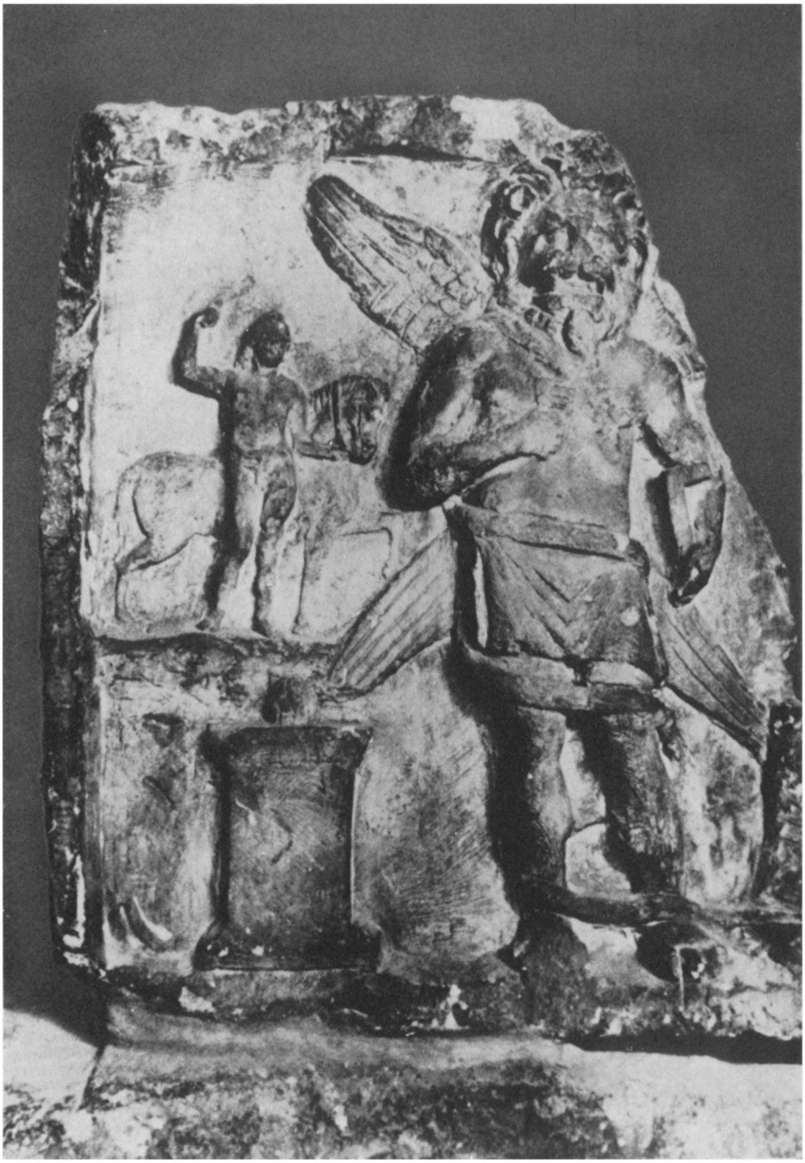

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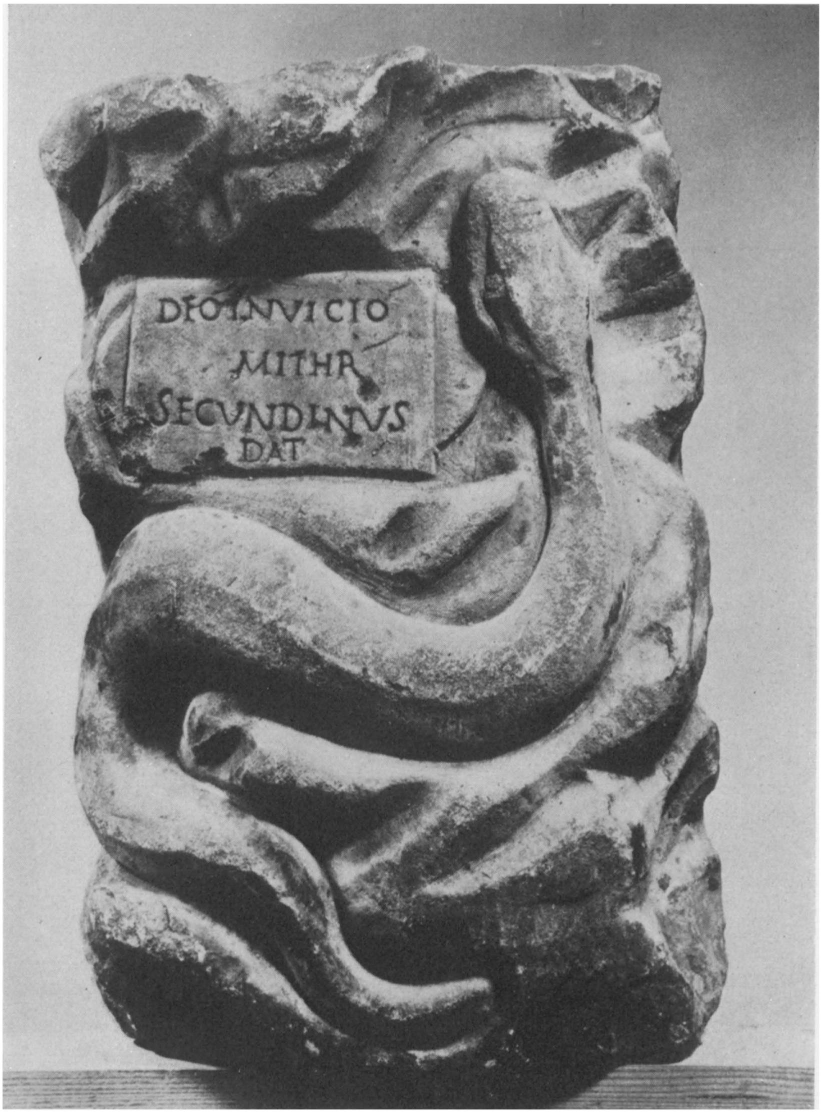
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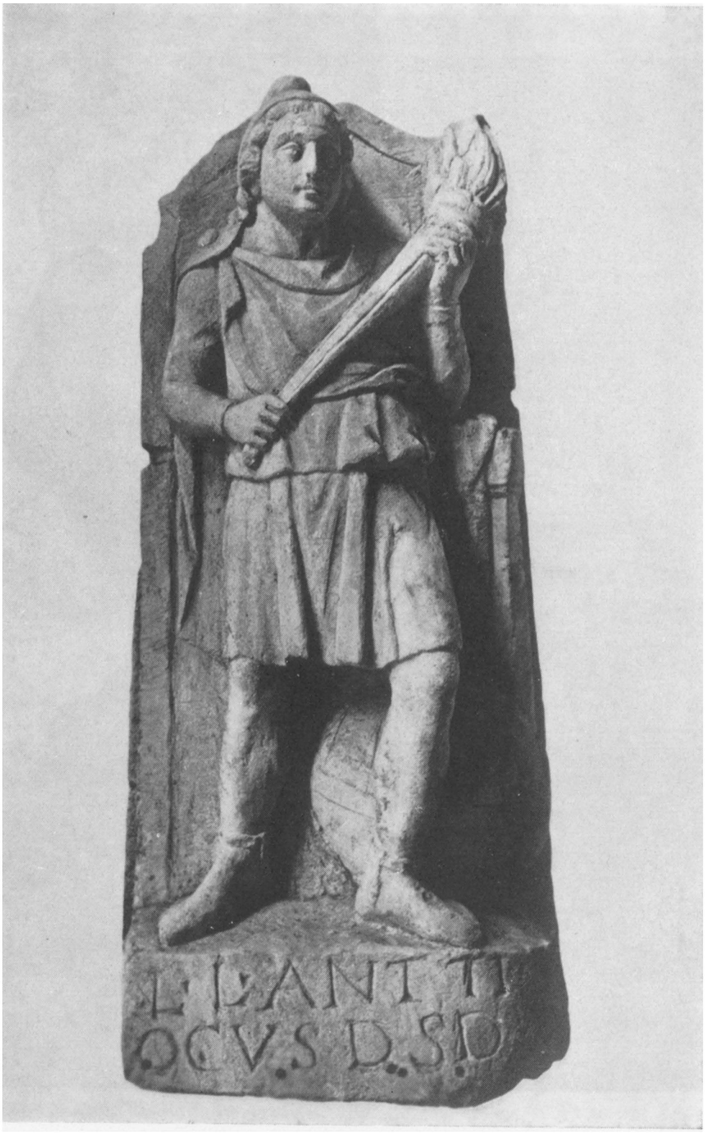
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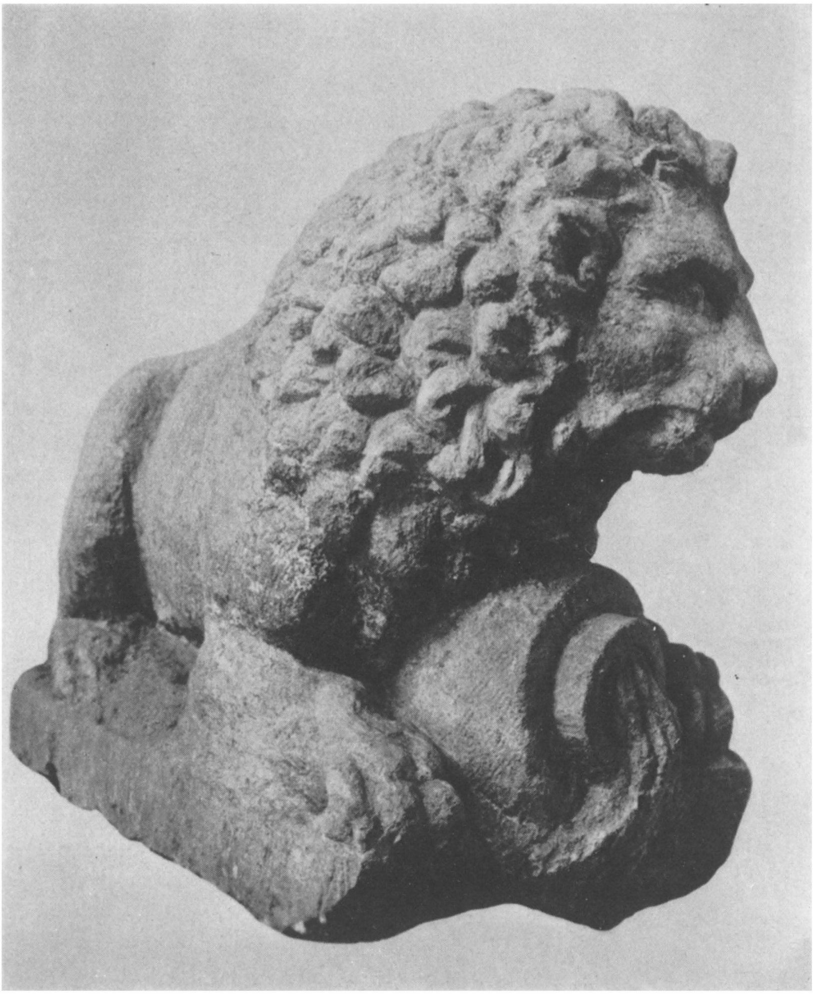

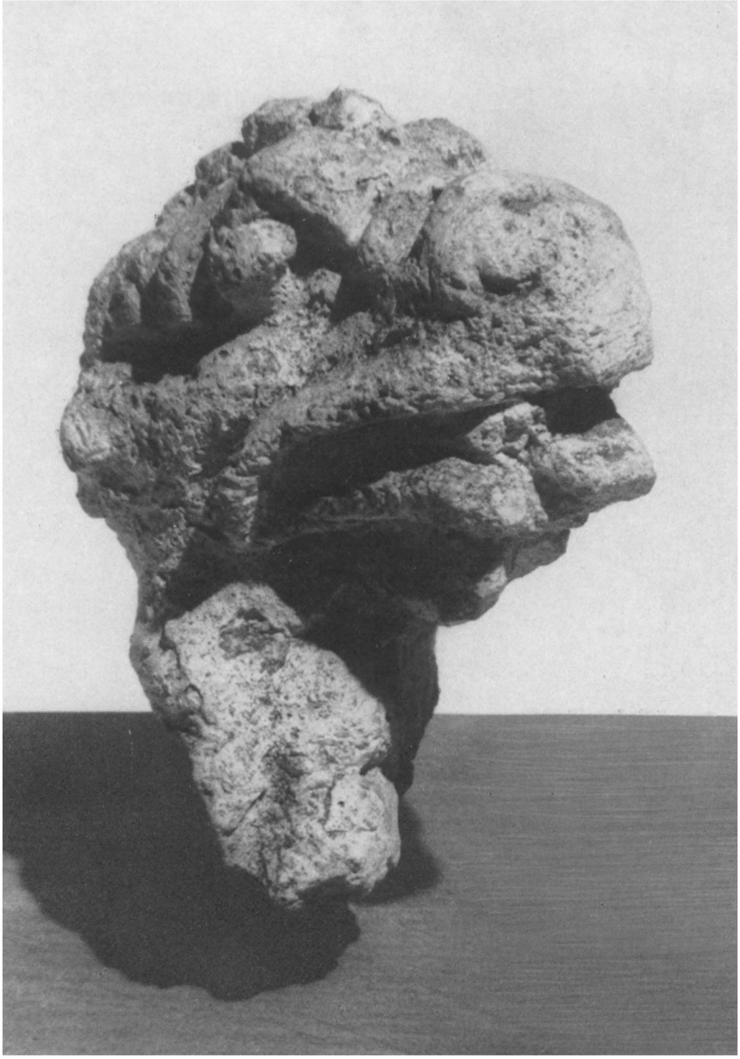

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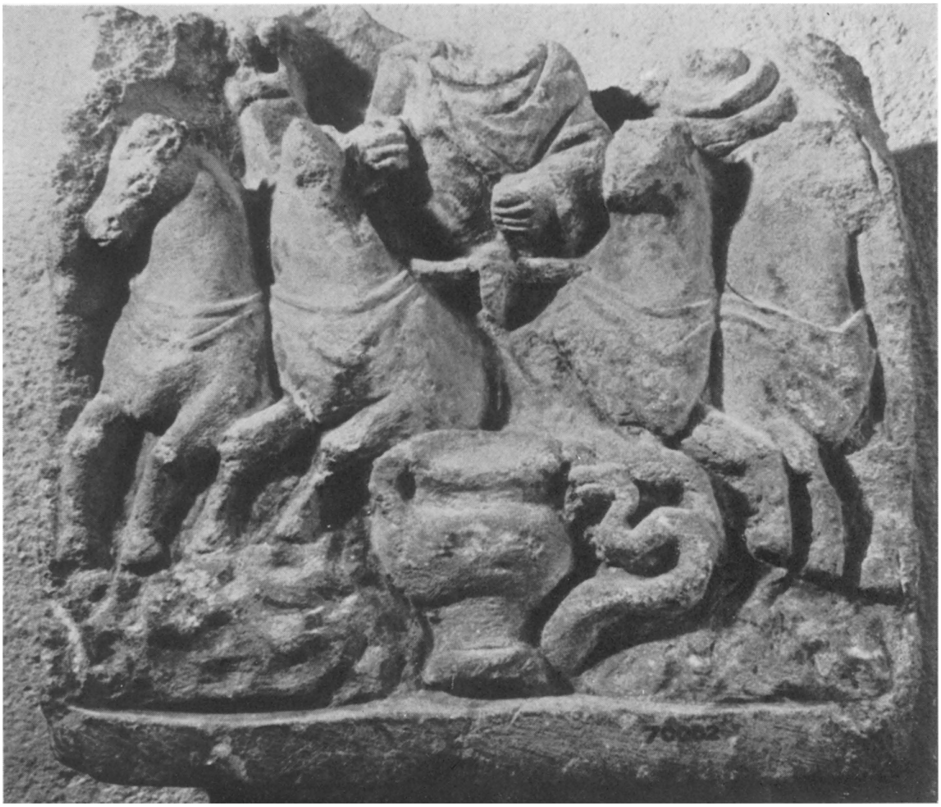

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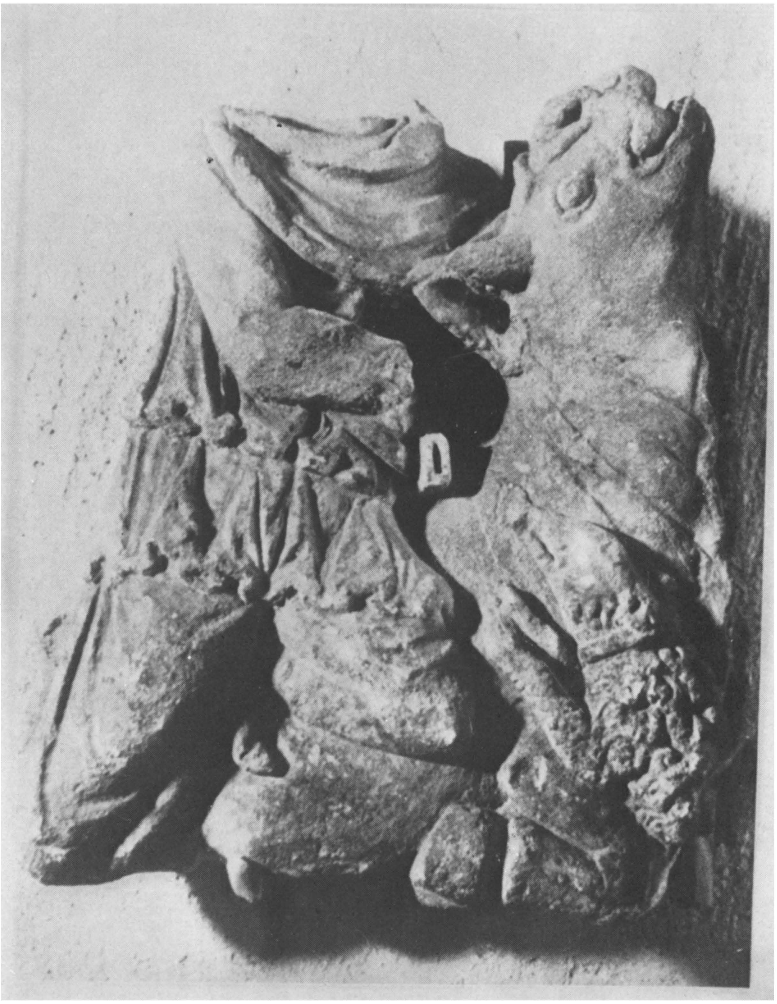

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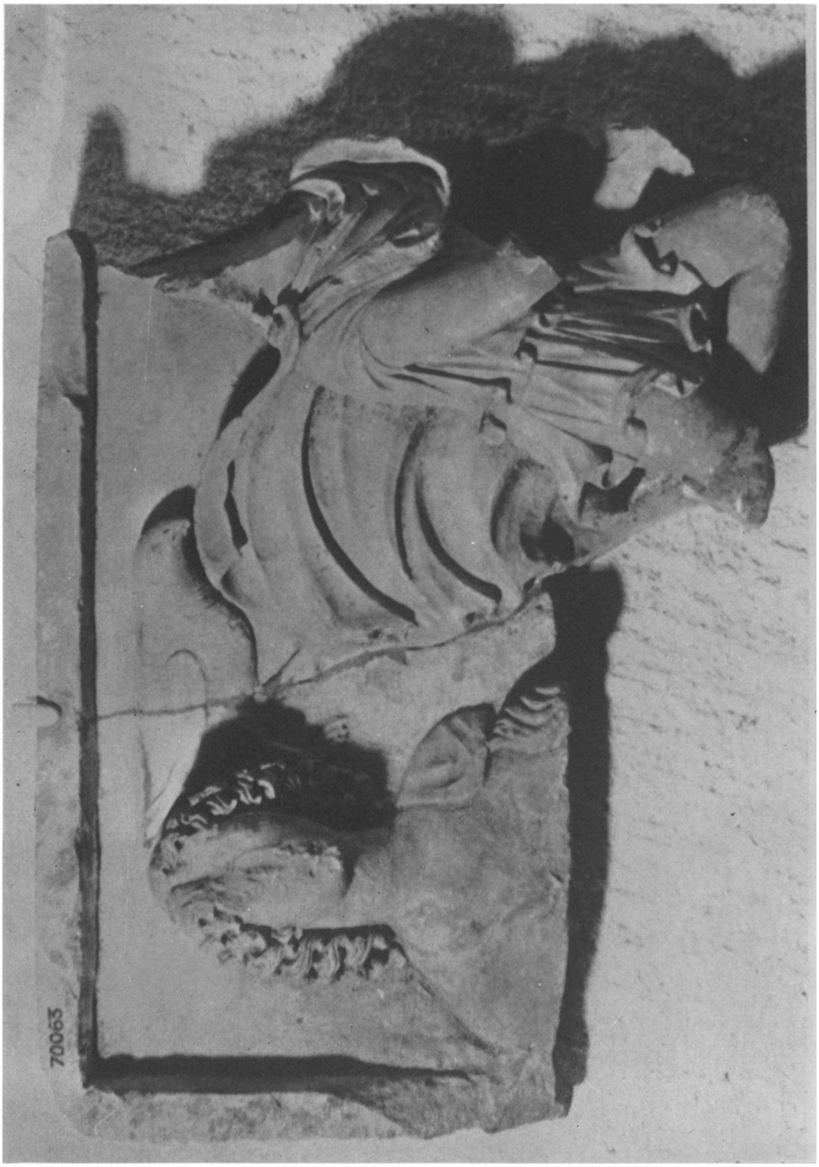

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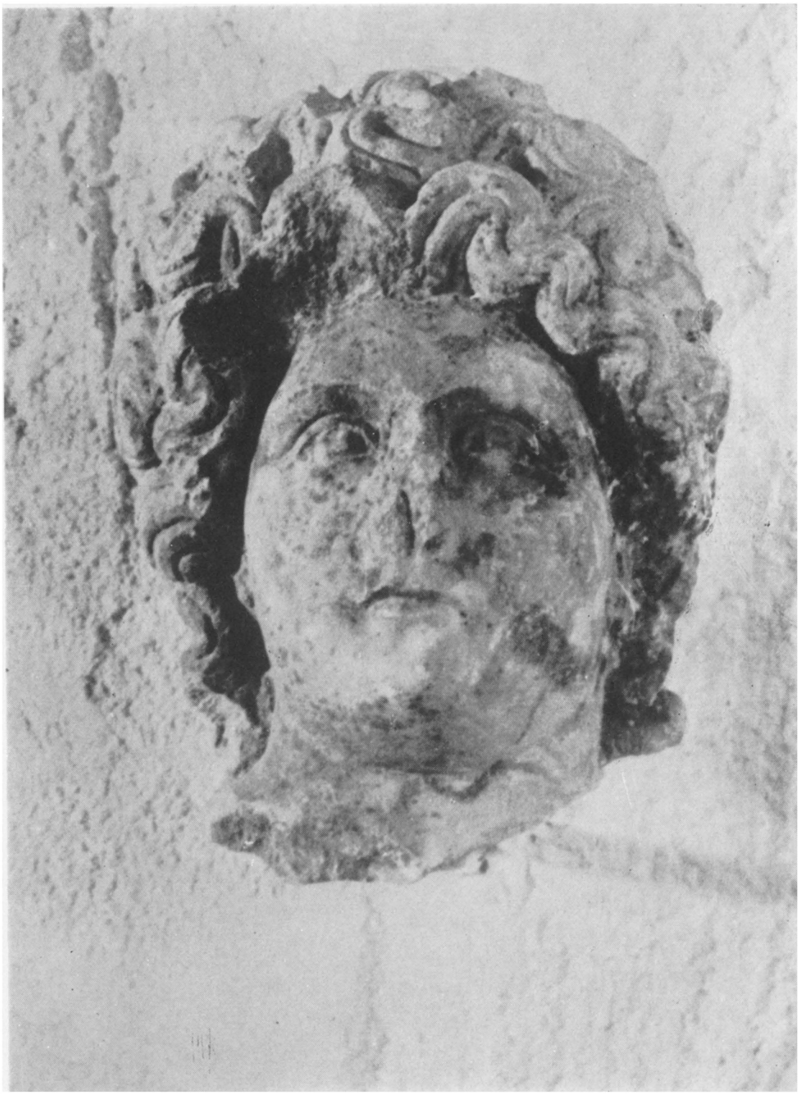

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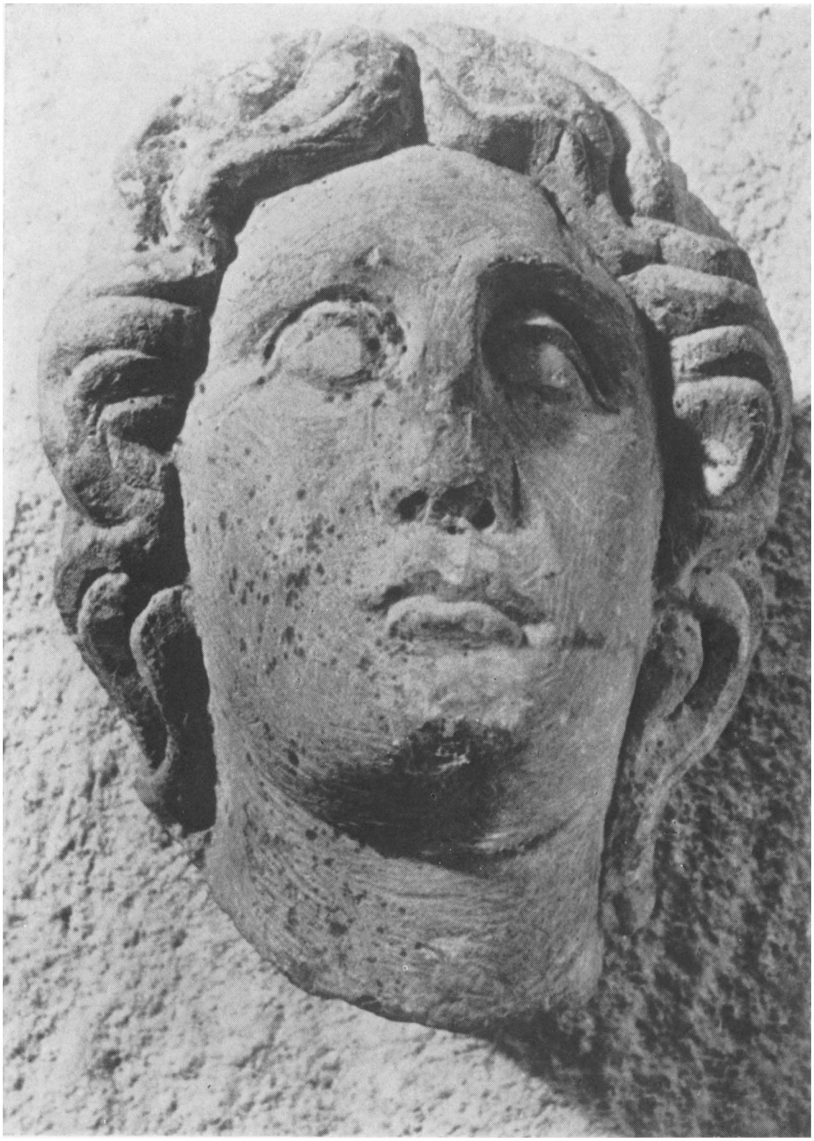

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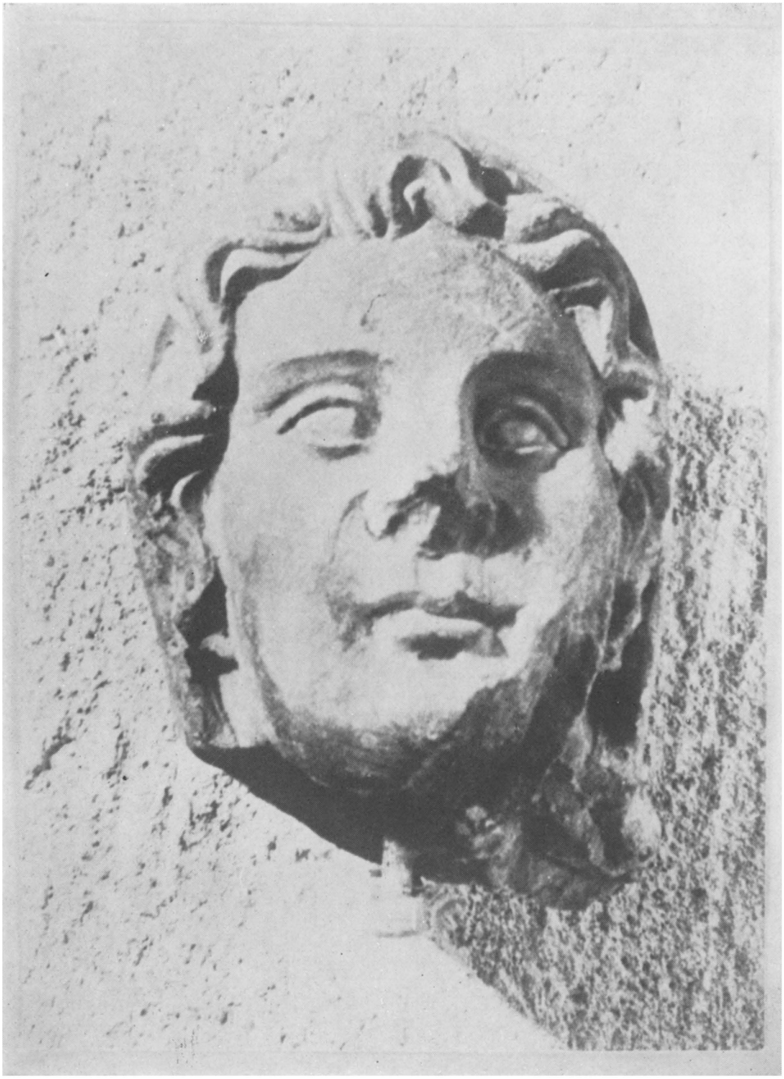

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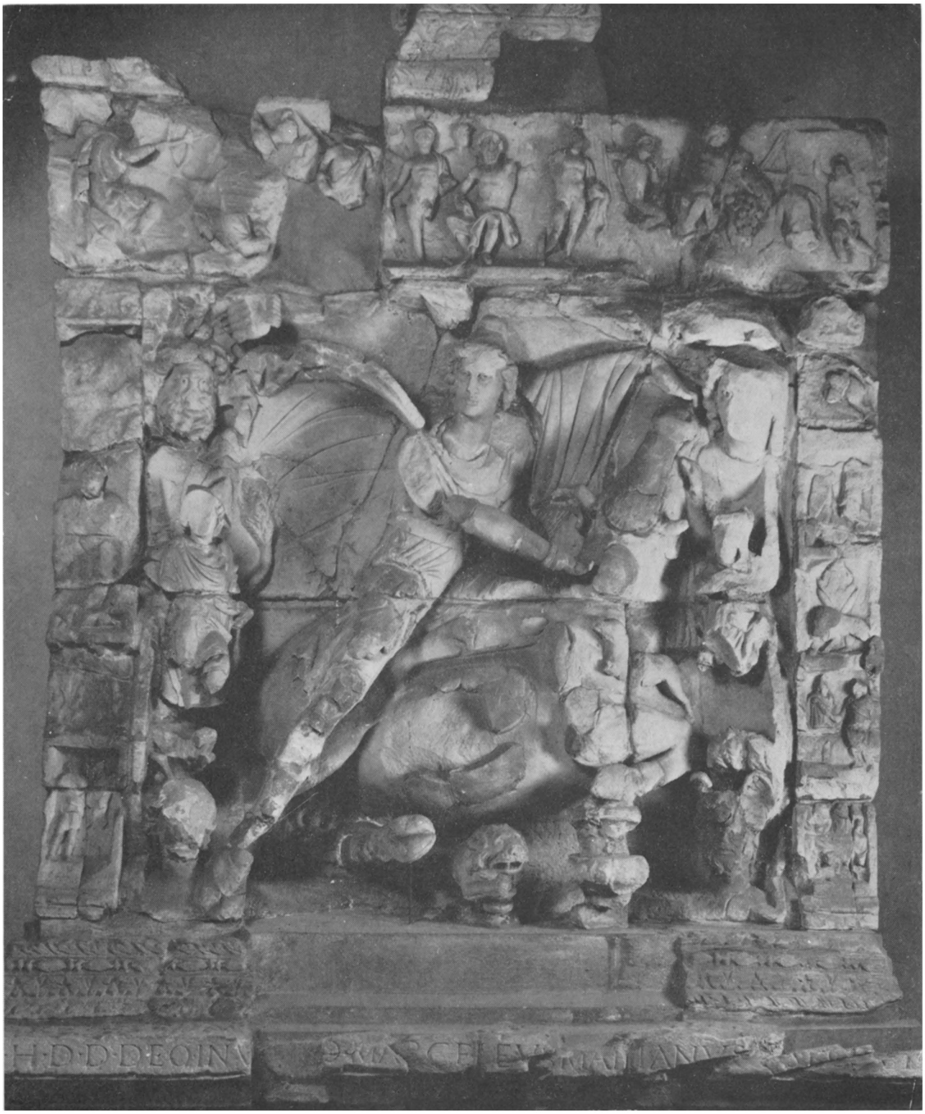

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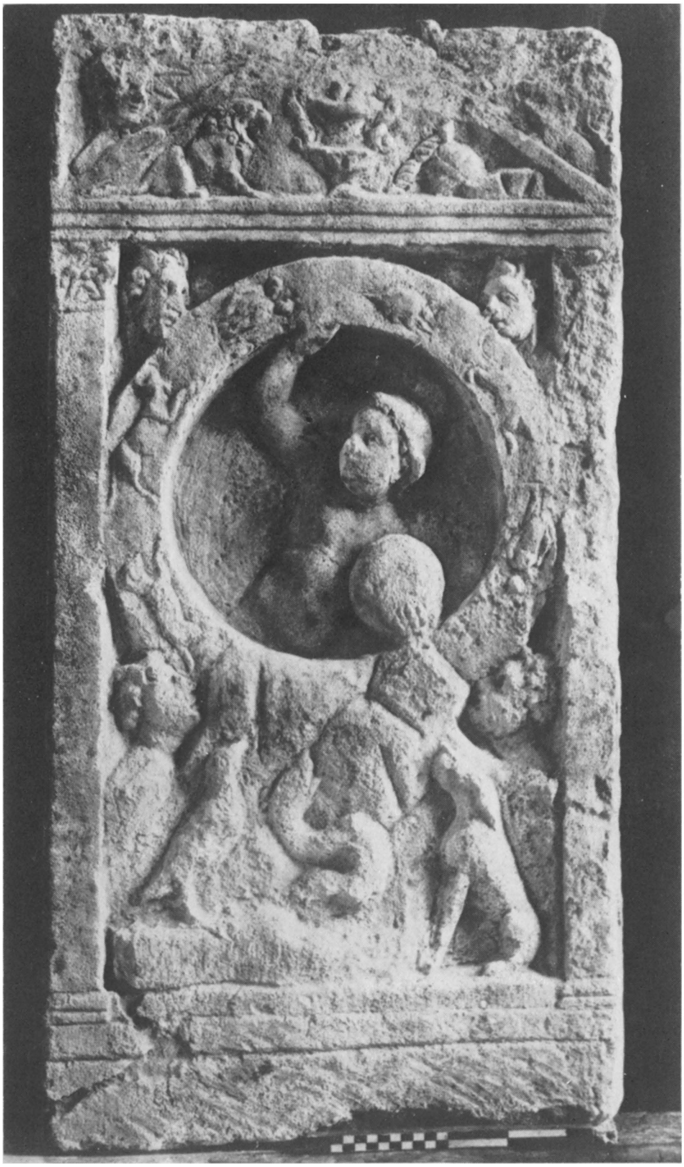

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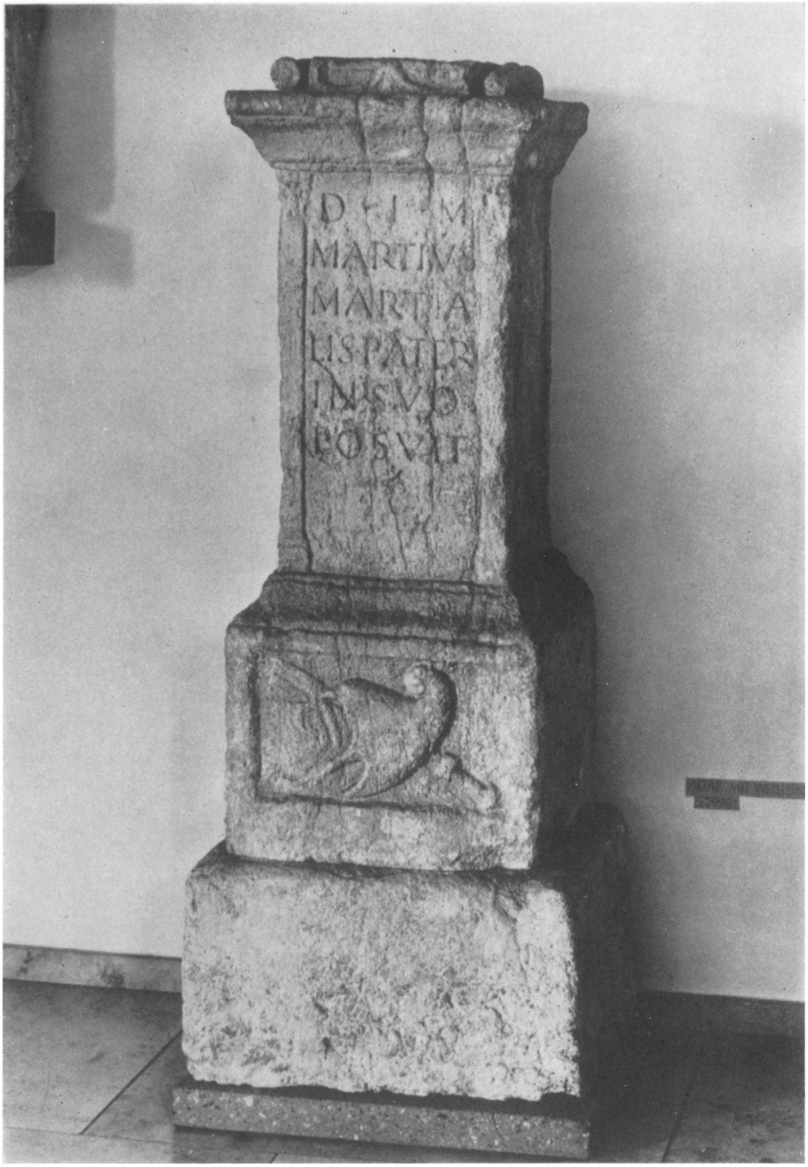
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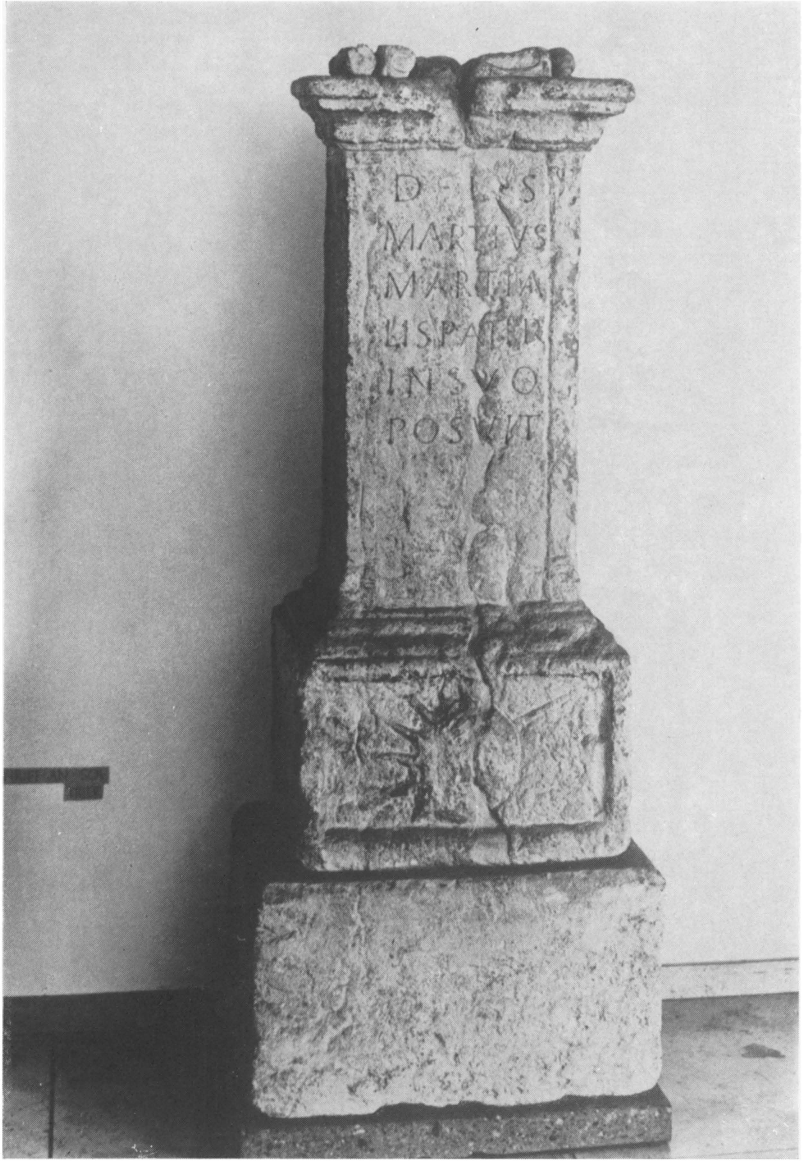
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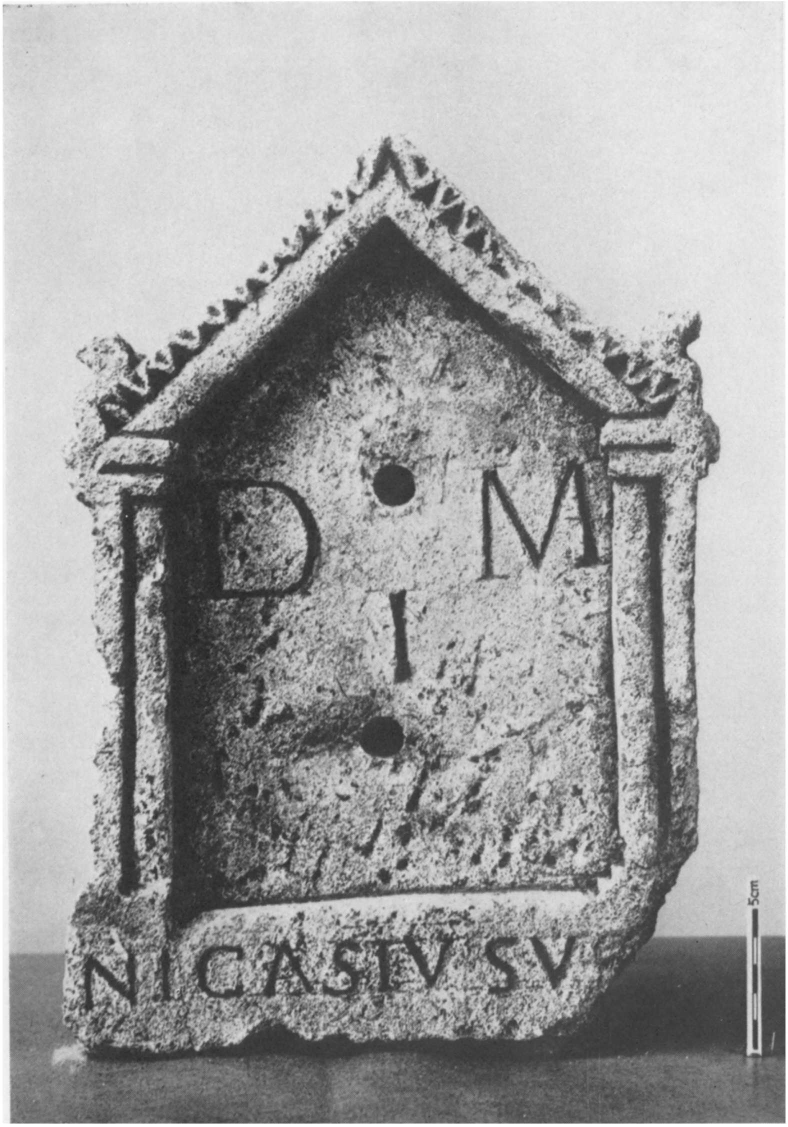
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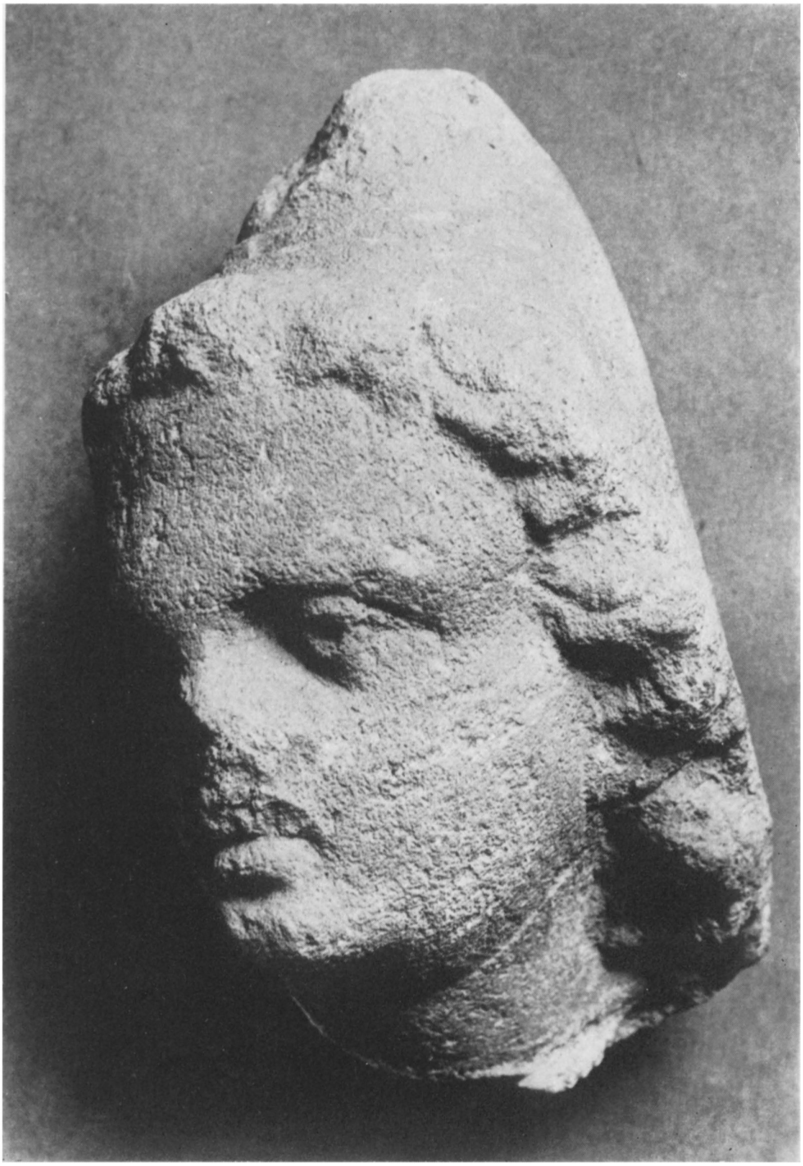

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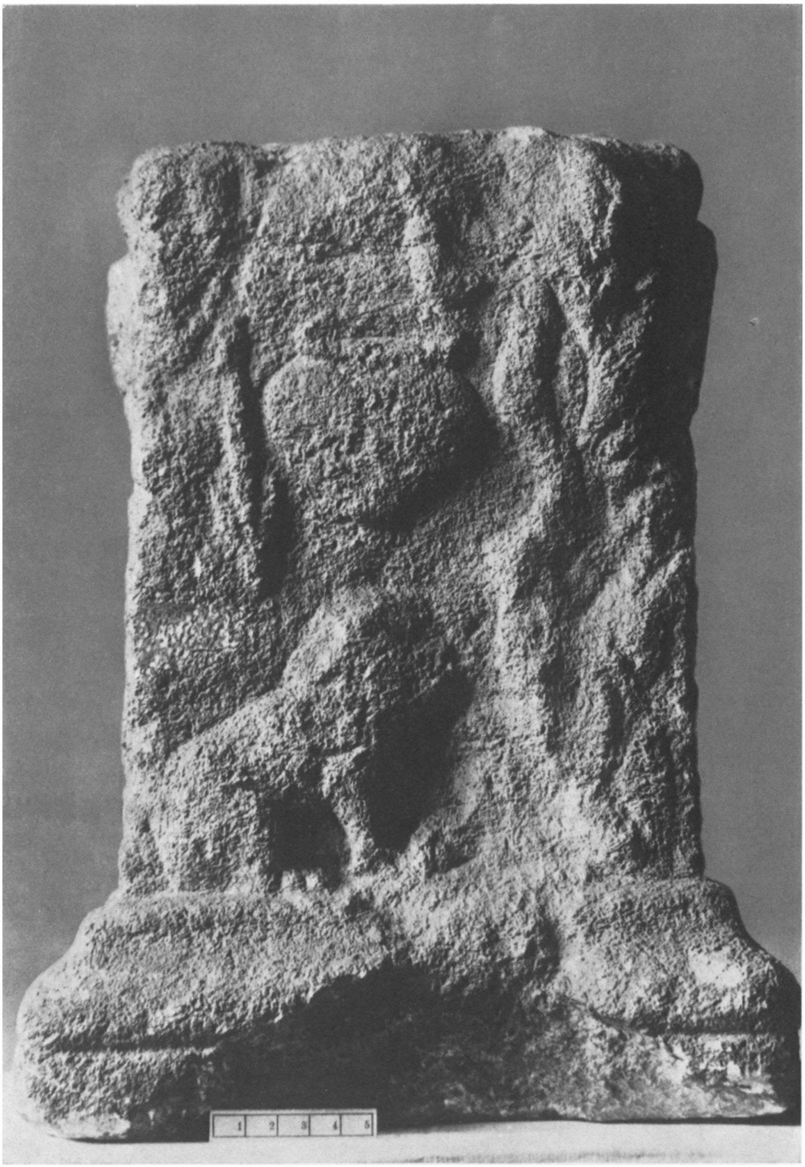

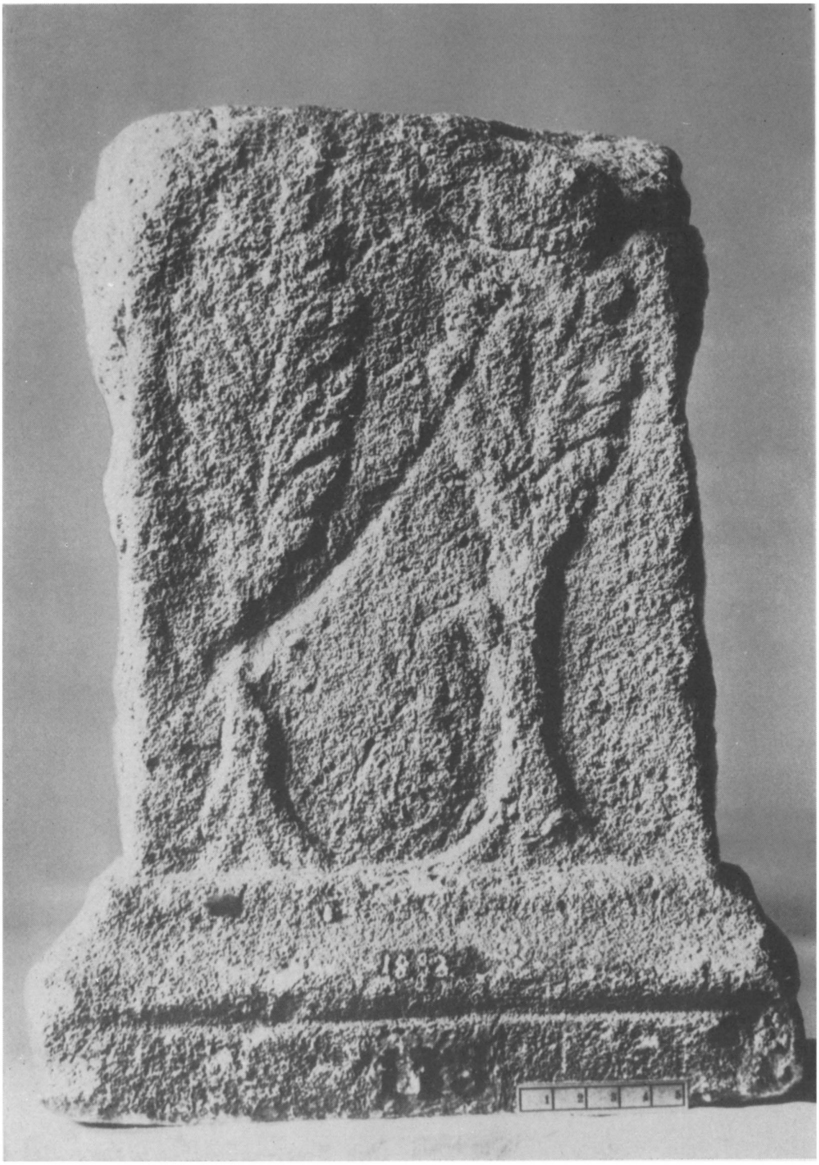
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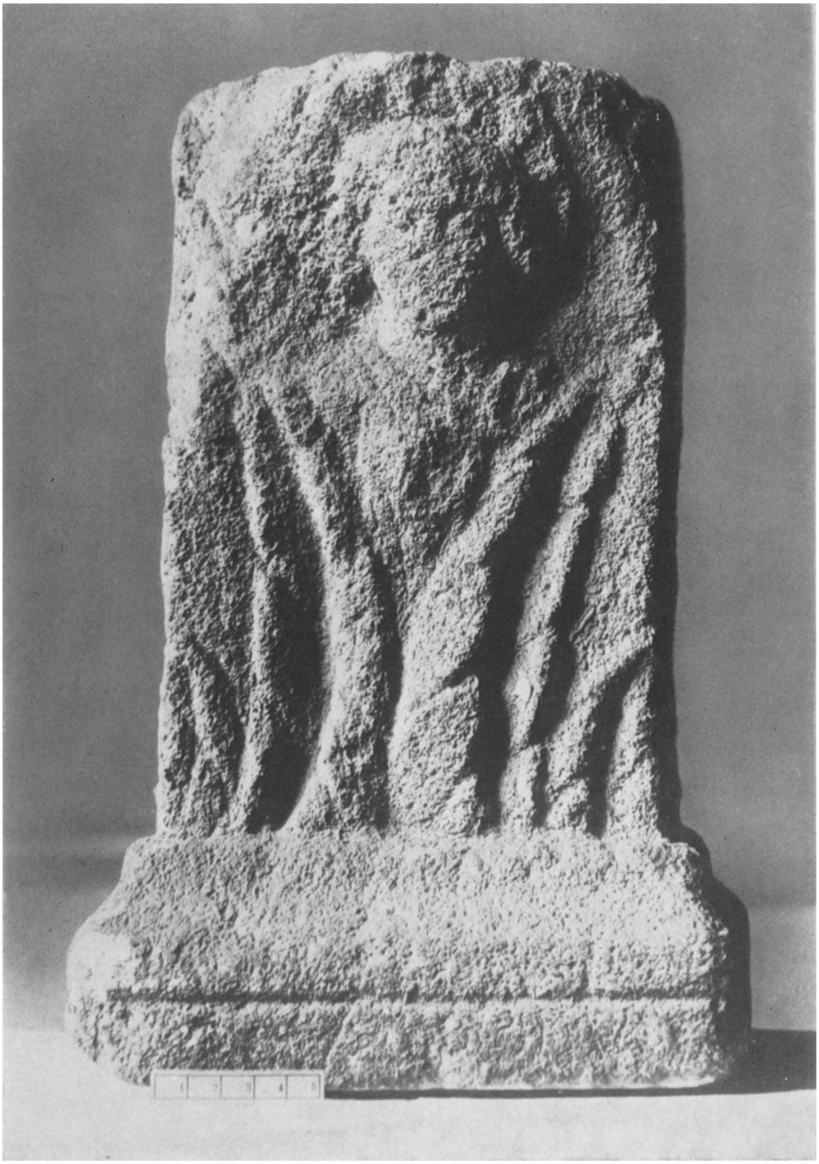

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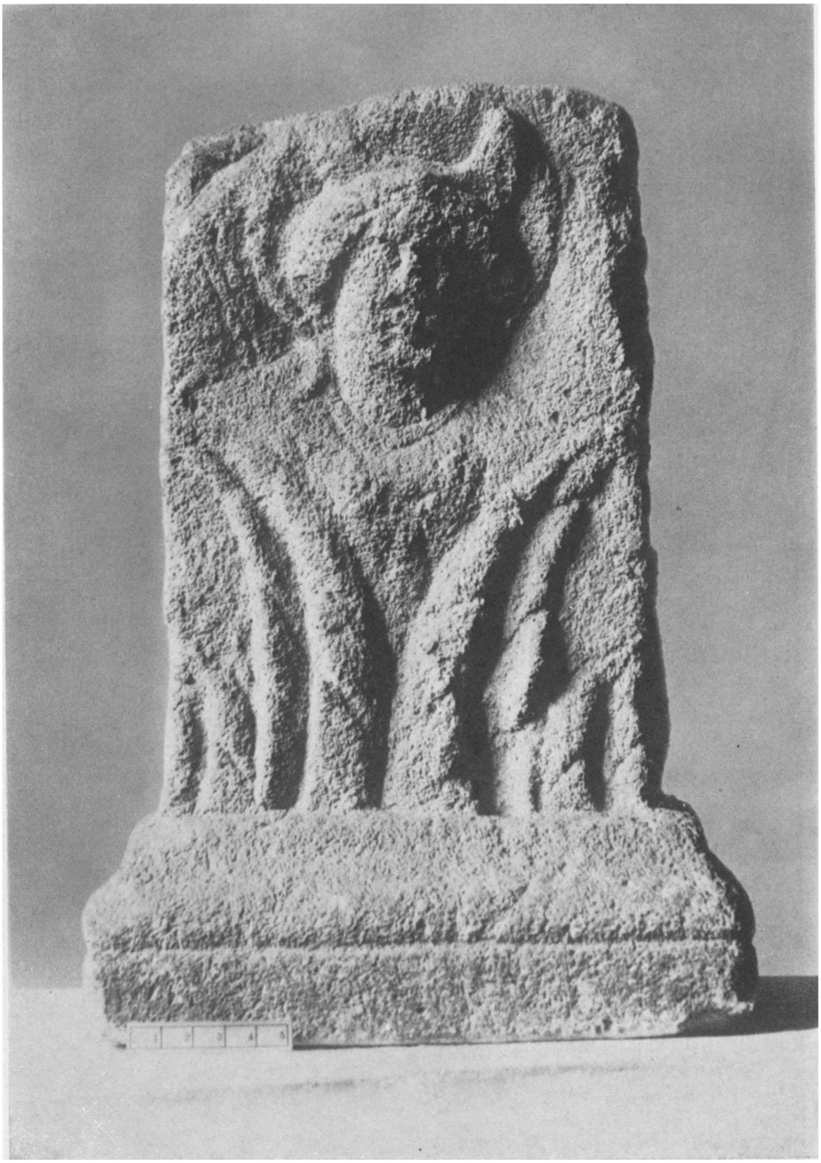
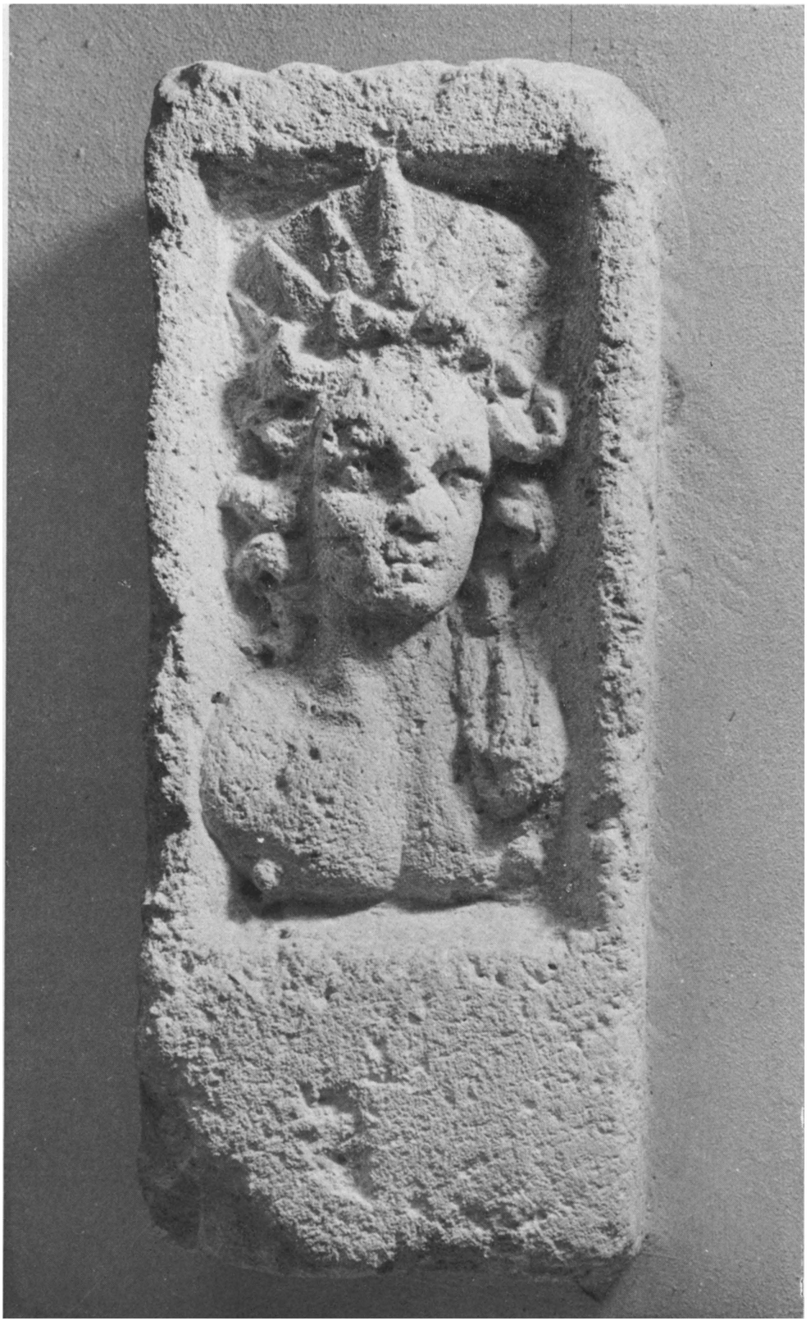


Plate XXVII



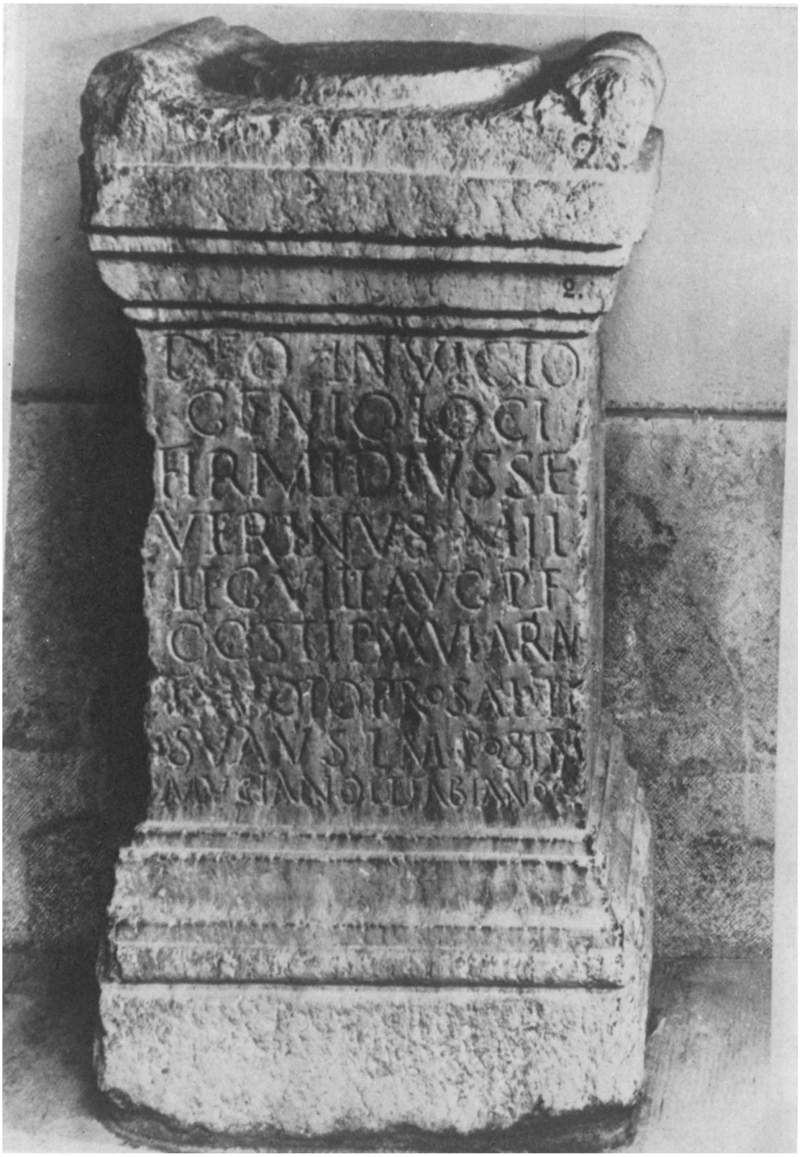
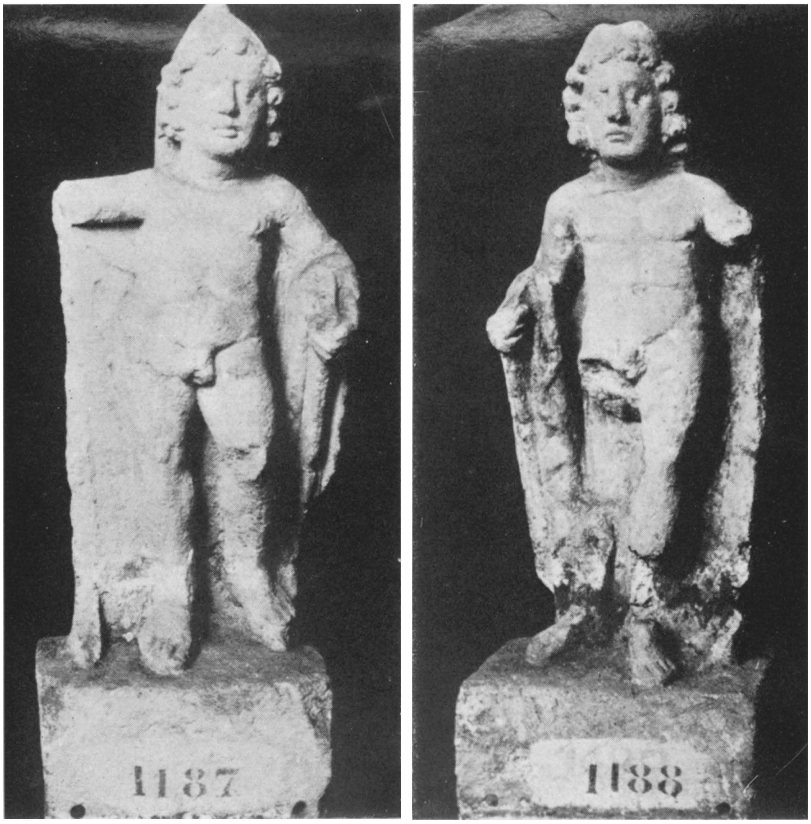

2.
DEO INVICTO
GENIO LOCI
FIRMIDIVS SE
VERINVS MIL
LEG VII AVG P F
C C STIP XXVI ARM
[illegible] TIO F R S A P R
SVA V S L M POSIT
MVCIANO ET FABIANO COS

PLATE XXIX



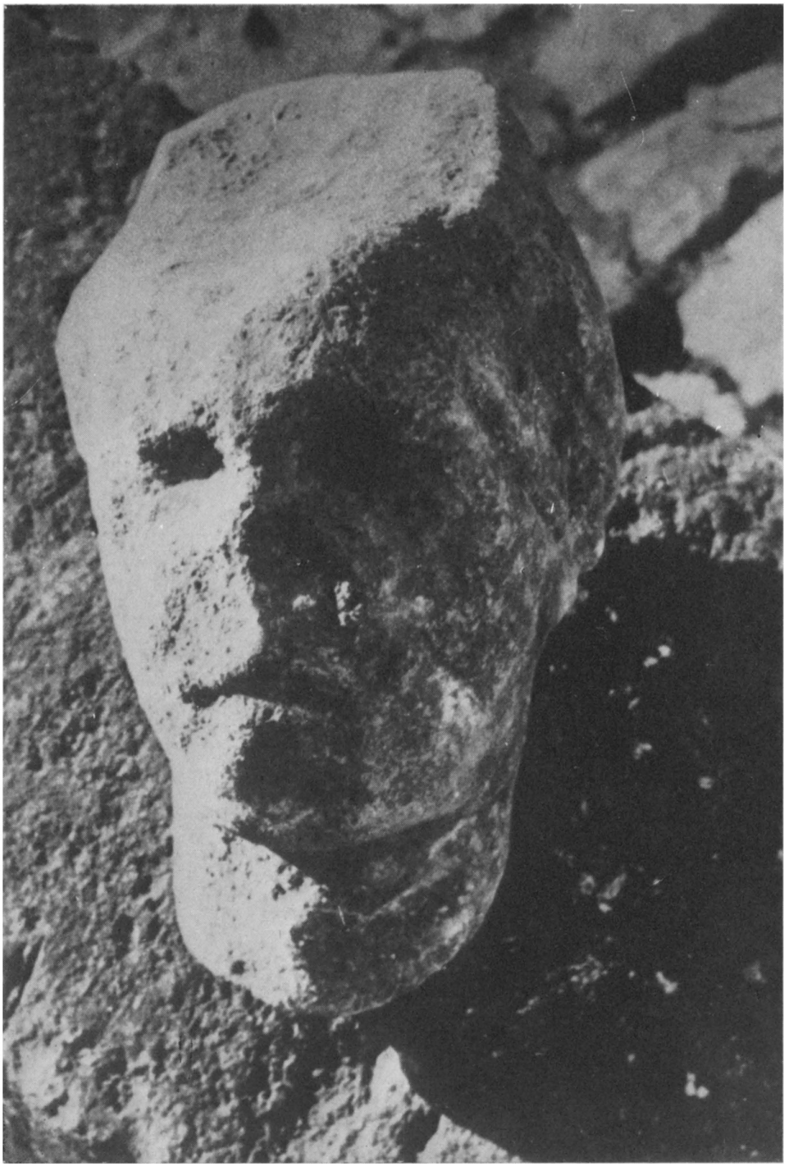
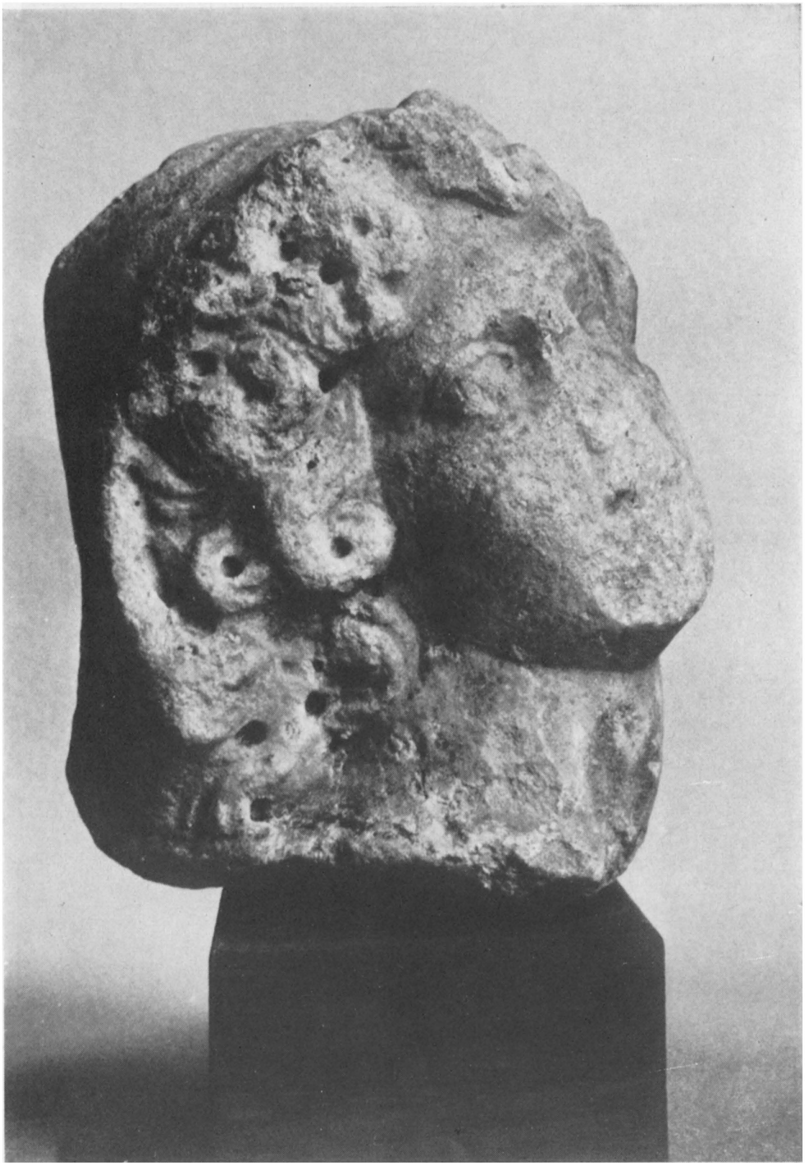
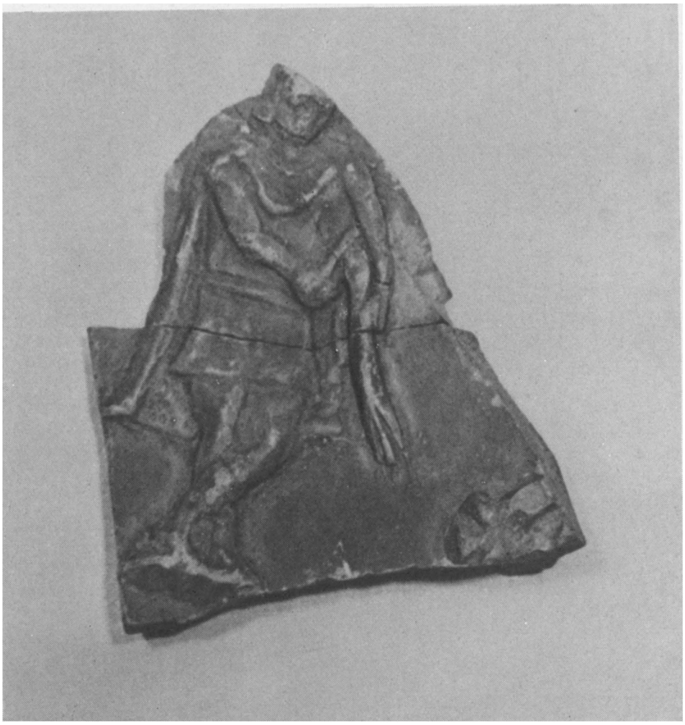
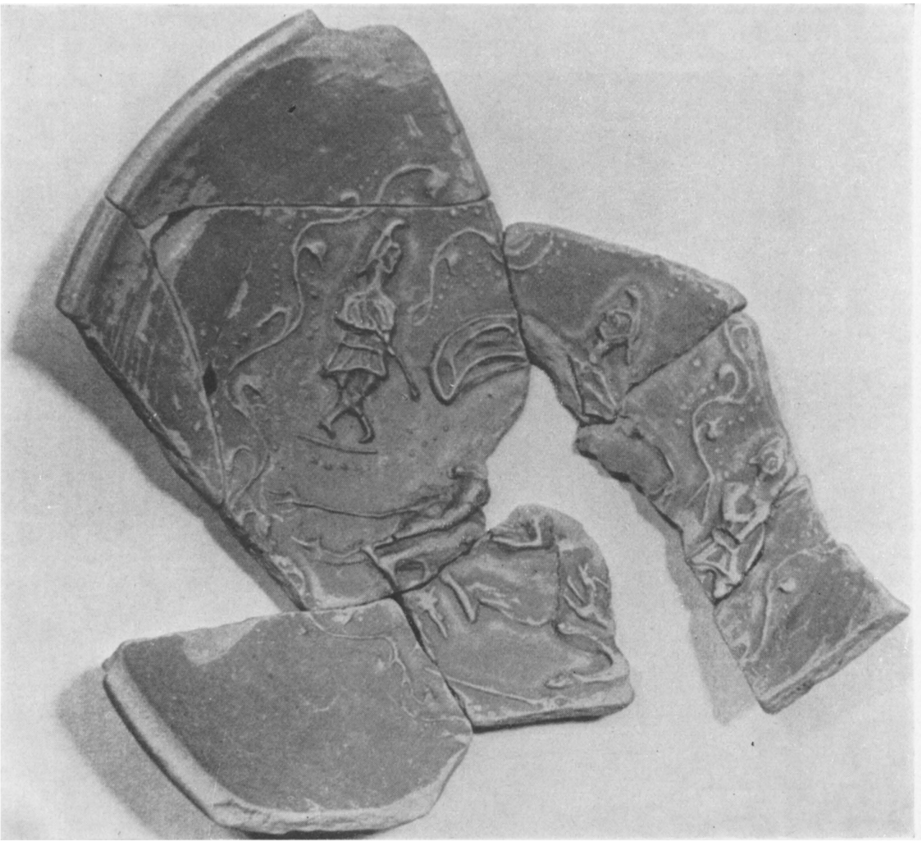


PLATE XXXI







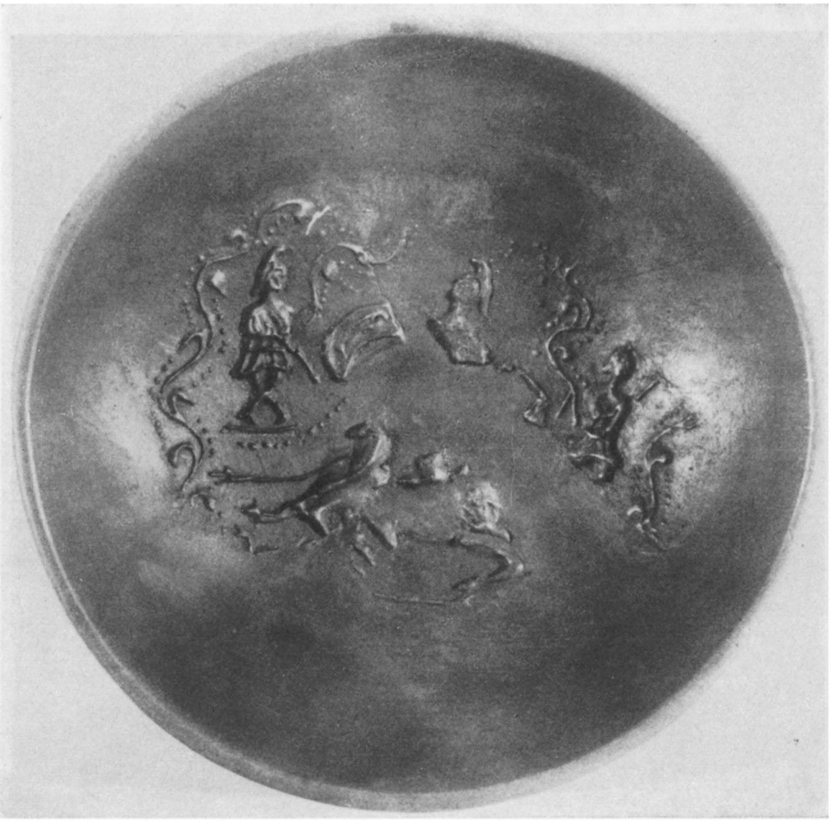
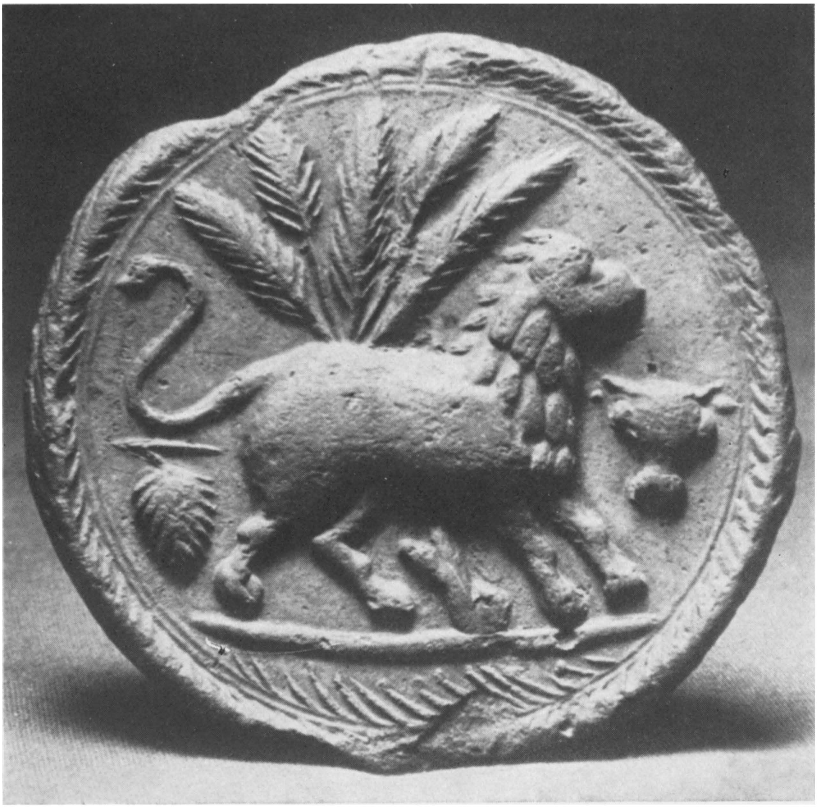


PLATE XXXV



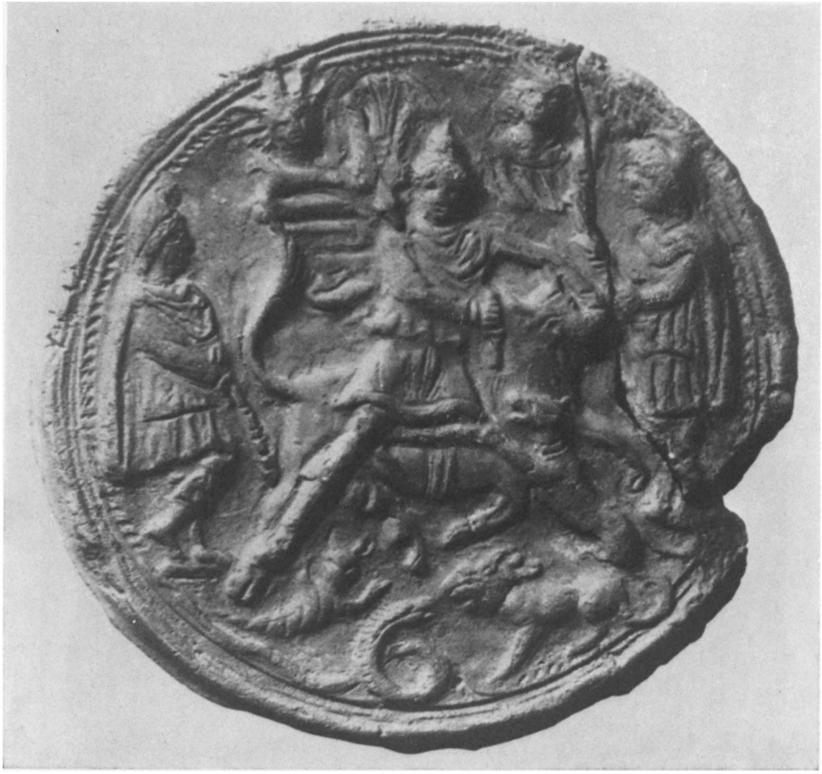


PLATE XXXVII

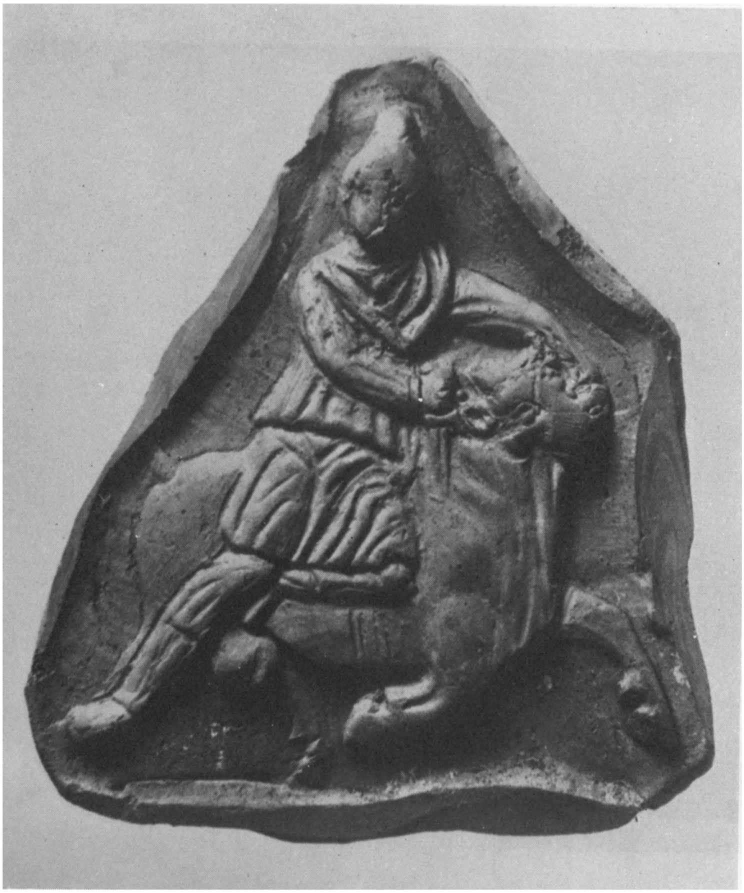


PLATE XXXVIII

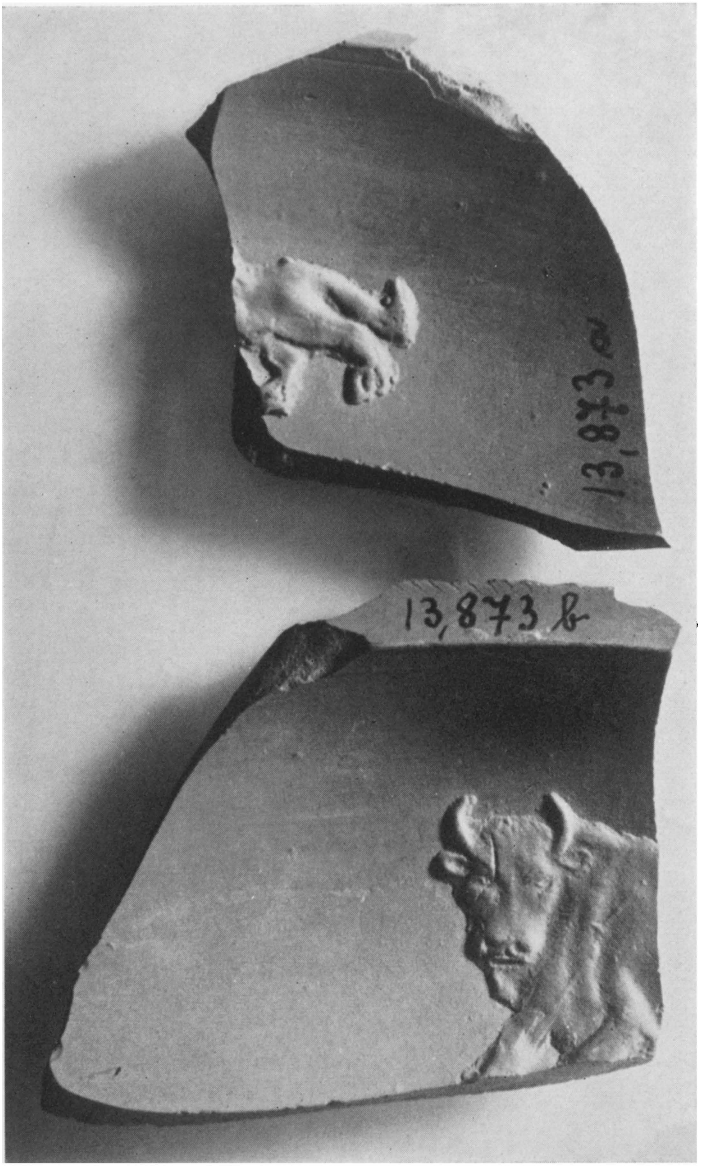
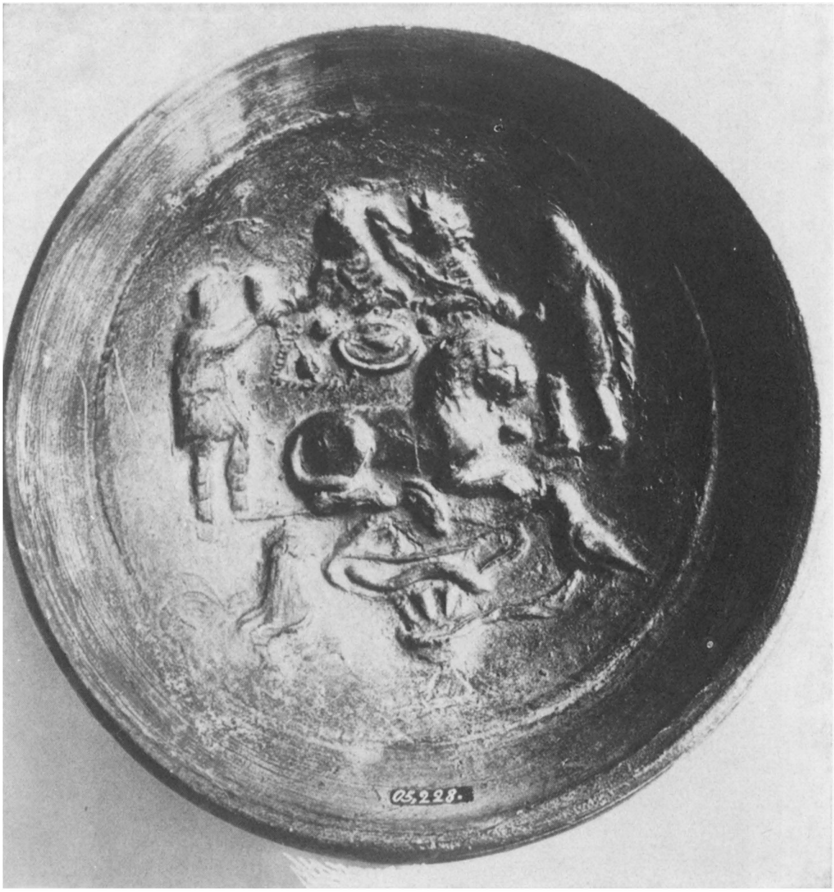
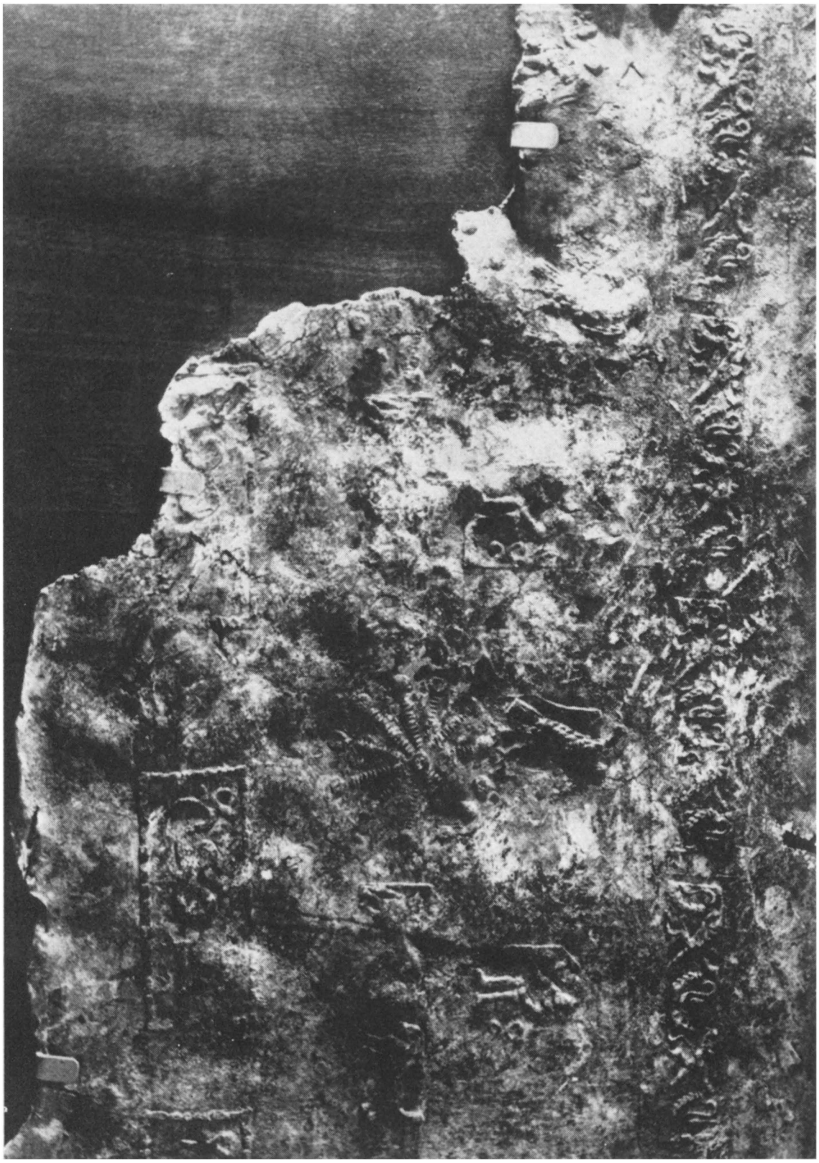
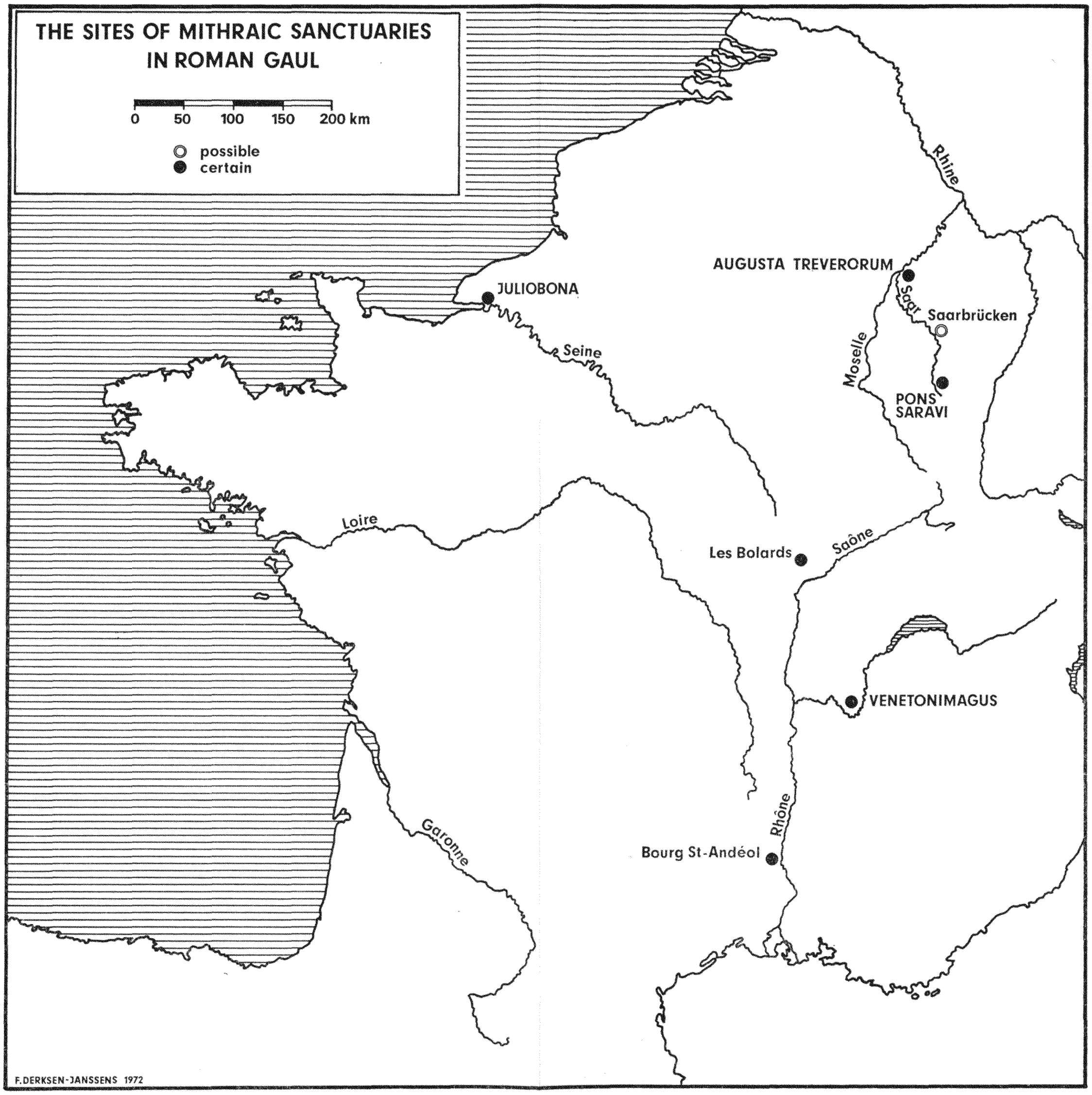

13,873 a
13,873 b

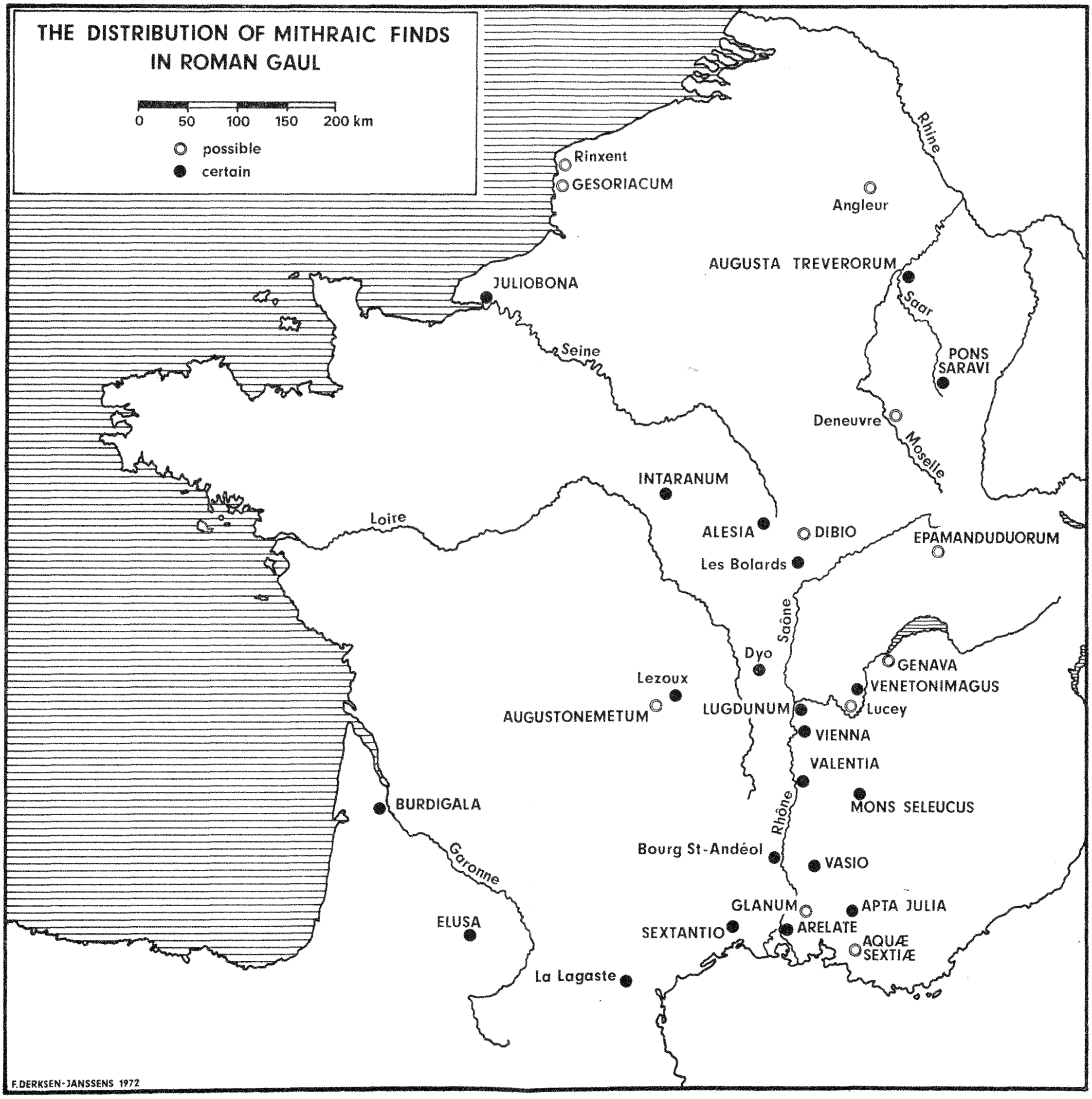
PLATE XXXIX






THE SITES OF MITHRAIC SANCTUARIES IN ROMAN GAUL
0
50
100
150
200 km
○ possible
● certain
JULIOBONA
Seine
Loire
Garonne
Rhine
AUGUSTA TREVERORUM
Saar
Saarbrücken
Moselle
PONS SARAVI
Les Bolards
Saône
VENETONIMAGUS
Rhône
Bourg St-Andéol
F. DERKSEN-JANSSENS 1972

Map 1


THE DISTRIBUTION OF MITHRAIC FINDS IN ROMAN GAUL
0
50
100
150
200 km
○ possible
● certain
Rinxent
GESORIACUM
Angleur
Rhine
AUGUSTA TREVERORUM
JULIOBONA
Saar
Seine
PONS SARAVI
Deneuvre
Moselle
INTARANUM
Loire
ALESIA
DIBIO
EPAMANDUDUORUM
Les Bolards
Saône
Dyo
GENAVA
Lezoux
VENETONIMAGUS
AUGUSTONEMETUM
LUGDUNUM
Lucey
VIENNA
VALENTIA
BURDIGALA
Rhône
MONS SELEUCUS
Garonne
Bourg St-Andéol
VASIO
GLANUM
APTA JULIA
ELUSA
SEXTANTIO
ARELATE
AQUÆ SEXTIÆ
La Lagaste
F.DERKSEN-JANSSENS 1972

Map 2